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bus

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St. Hill

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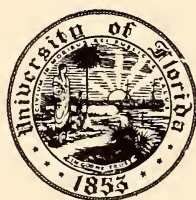
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John Milton
at St. Paul's School



THE SCHOOLROOM AS REBUILT AFTER THE
GREAT FIRE OF 1666

John Milton at St. Paul's School

A STUDY OF ANCIENT RHETORIC
IN ENGLISH RENAISSANCE
EDUCATION

by Donald Lemen Clark

*" . . . the childhood shews the man,
As morning shews the day"*

ARCHON BOOKS
1964

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TO

Mary Read Clark



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Preface

THIS STUDY of John Milton's education at St. Paul's School in London, which he attended until at the age of sixteen he matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, was begun as the first step towards understanding the influence which classical and post-classical rhetoric undoubtedly had on Milton as a great writer of poetry and prose in Latin and in English. Although a number of more or less relevant problems are touched on, rhetoric in its broadest classical sense as an essential attribute of a free citizen in a civilized society remains the theme of the entire book.

When I first proposed to study the influence of ancient rhetoric on Milton's theory and practice of prose and poetry, I had just completed the manuscript, still unpublished, of *The Teaching of Rhetoric in Greece and Rome*. In this study I abandoned temporarily the main highway of rhetorical theory and philosophy which I had formerly followed in *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (1922), and endeavored to reconstruct the everyday activities of the less philosophical schoolmasters, as reported by Suetonius, Seneca the Elder, and Quintilian, and satirized by Lucian, Petronius, and Juvenal. Study of the manuals for theme writing, the *Progymnasmata* of the Greek schoolmasters Hermogenes and Aphthonius, told a revealing story to one who had been a lifelong teacher of rhetoric, author of textbooks, and editor of books of readings for Freshmen. Having also edited, for the Columbia edition, Milton's declamatory exercises which he composed at Cambridge, the *Prolusiones Quaedam Oratoriae*, I found that I possessed two bearings which enabled me to locate the port of entry through which ancient rhetoric passed into the alert mind of John Milton. This port of entry was the grammar school Milton attended as a boy.

Hence in seeking to discover how ancient rhetoric influenced Milton I have begun at the beginning with his trivial education in the language arts of grammar, rhetoric, and logic as he received it at St. Paul's School. In doing this I have first presented the known facts about the schoolboy Milton, so far as we can discover them from his own statements and from those who knew him. I have given an account of the school itself and of his schoolmasters. My main endeavor has been to reconstruct the course of study which he most probably followed and to describe the textbooks of grammar and rhetoric which he studied and memorized and the classical authors he imitated in the themes he wrote in Latin and Greek prose and verse.

The texts of Milton I have taken from the Columbia edition with the permission of the Columbia University Press. Translations from Milton's Latin are for the most part from the same edition, but I have not hesitated to use the translations of others or to make my own when I thought it in the interest of accurate reporting. In quoting from other authors and documents it has pleased me to use texts and translations, so far as possible, that might have been accessible to Milton. Often, indeed, there are no others.

If, like the dwarf in the ancient apologue, I have been enabled to see farther than some of my predecessors, it is because I sit upon the shoulders of giants who have prepared the way. I am especially happy to acknowledge my debt to three groups of scholars who have in one way or another made invaluable contributions to an understanding of Milton's schooling: the studies of James Holley Hanford and E. M. W. Tillyard on Milton's youth; those of Robert Barlow Gardiner and Michael F. J. McDonnell on the history of St. Paul's School; and those of T. W. Baldwin, Arthur F. Leach, and Foster Watson on the ways of English grammar schools. Sir Michael McDonnell has been especially generous in writing to me of his investigations of the Mercers' Records, recently opened to him.

Here, too, I wish to express my thanks to the College Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, for permission to reproduce a part of their manuscript of "The Constant Method of Teaching in St. Paul's Schoole, London," and to the Trustees of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery for affording me opportunities of study and for permission to include in my chapter, "Milton's Schoolmasters," a great deal of material which first appeared in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, February, 1946.

Time for the completion of the manuscript was afforded by a fellowship awarded in 1944 by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, for which I am deeply grateful, and by a leave of absence granted me by the President and Trustees of Columbia University. My studies at every step have been facilitated by Mary Isabel Fry, Constance M. Winchell, and Jean F. Macalister, the faithful and learned reference librarians at the Huntington Library and the Libraries of Columbia University. For generous assistance on seeing the book through the press I am greatly indebted to Muriel E. Kern and to the officers and editorial staff of the Columbia University Press.

As I approach the pleasant obligation of acknowledging my various debts to my friends and fellow members of the community of scholars, I think first of Charles Sears Baldwin, of George Philip Krapp, and of Fred Newton Scott, great rhetoricians of the former age, who, when I was young, helped to guide my steps towards an understanding of the history and philosophy of the Gay Science. I think of William Peterfield Trent, who first introduced me to the qualities of Milton's mind. In the preparation of this present book I have received generous aid and warm encouragement from the late Hoyt Hudson, from George Sherburn, and from Richard McKeon. To my colleagues at Columbia University, Harry Morgan Ayres, Oscar James Campbell, and Ernest Hunter Wright, I am beholden for much good advice, freely offered. Especially am I grateful to William Haller, whose wide and

deep knowledge of Milton and his age has been generously put at my disposal on many a fishing trip, while the pickerel, uncaught, rejoiced at the prospect of so much authors' manuscript to furnish them with winding sheets for Lent. It is a pleasure publicly to thank my wife, Mary Read Clark, who had also on a previous occasion helped me to see a child through school.

DONALD LEMEN CLARK

Columbia University
New York
March, 1947

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John Milton
at St. Paul's School

I. *The Trivium*

IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE that Milton in his maturity was in fact, as well as in his own ideal of himself, an orator statesman whose privilege and duty it was to counsel and admonish the state. *Areopagitica* is not his only prose tract which has the form of a classical oration. If, unlike those other great orator statesmen, Demosthenes and Cicero, Milton did not address his audience with the impassioned spoken word, he was well aware that he had classical precedent in Isocrates, "who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of Athens," when he addressed his countrymen through the written word. No less was he an orator statesman practicing rhetoric for the glory of truth and the honor of England when he wrote his Latin defenses against the foreign enemies of the Commonwealth. It was the orator statesman in Milton who aspired to write a poem "doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation."

That Milton should aspire to such literary and oratorical ideals as moved the orators and poets of antiquity is natural enough, for he had an early education very like their own. Indeed in Milton's boyhood formal education in the English grammar schools was as exclusively literary as formal education had been in the Roman schools of the first century. In Imperial Rome and in Renaissance England all seven of the Liberal Arts were honored as the basis of a liberal education, but in both periods the mathematical arts of the quadrivium (Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy) were honored more than taught. The core, flesh and skin of the educational apple were comprised in the linguistic arts of the trivium (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic). Hence in Milton's boyhood his father might have boasted, quite correctly,

that he was giving his son a sound "trivial" education.¹ For St. Paul's School, which prepared Milton for Cambridge, was as completely given over to the study of the trivium, in Latin and Greek, as was the grammar school Ovid attended in Rome. Milton read the same school authors, practiced the same imitative exercises of translation and paraphrase, and wrote and spoke themes on the same sort of assignments. That Milton received such a grammar school education was the all but inevitable result of the Renaissance in England, for the Renaissance humanists, Erasmus, Colet, and Lily, who organized the course of study for St. Paul's in process of bringing about a rebirth of classical culture through a renewed study of classical languages and literatures simultaneously brought about a rebirth of the classical educational system.

This humanistic education which he received at St. Paul's School had a profound influence on the mature Milton and contributed to making him what he became—a great man of the Renaissance. It was at St. Paul's School that he gained that command of Latin which he put to such noble use in the service of his country in his great defenses of English liberty. Here it was that he first learned to practice the rhetoric which, when he became a man, enabled him to control his thoughts for effective communication to the world. At this school, happy in the literary studies afforded by academic leisure, he was encouraged to write verses in English as well as in the learned tongues. Indeed he was so happy in the congenial surroundings of his humanistic grammar school that he was well prepared to hate, as hate he thoroughly did, the medieval scholasticism of his university when he proceeded to Cambridge in 1625.

Hence I shall proceed to give in some detail an account of the general theory and practice of Grammar, Rhetoric, and

¹ Under the title of "The Trivial Education of John Milton" I presented to the meeting of the Modern Language Association in December, 1945, a summary of some of the material contained in this chapter and Chapter V.

Logic, as taught in ancient and Renaissance grammar schools, to supply a frame of reference which will enable us to understand more fully the specific grammarschool education which Milton received in London during the eight or nine years which preceded his admission to college.

As we shall see, the semantic content of the terms "Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic" shifted a good deal from time to time over the centuries. They have always had a tendency to encroach on one another, to claim ever wider boundaries, and to occupy spheres of influence at the expense of their sister arts. But like the warring city-states of ancient Greece or the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the Heptarchy they were always aware of belonging to the same family. They are all arts of communication in language. They are all arts of thinking, speaking, reading, and writing. From the day Milton first learned his letters as a child until he received the degree of Master of Arts at the age of twenty-four he devoted his time and effort almost exclusively to the mastery of the arts of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic.

Of these arts, Grammar has always been the first taught to little children after they have learned their letters and can read. In medieval and Renaissance allegorical representations Grammar is shown as a nurse giving suck to infants, as a schoolmistress threatening little children with a birch, or as a teacher opening with a key the narrow gate to the tower of knowledge so that little children may enter.²

But in Milton's day, as in antiquity, the words "grammar" and "grammarian" embraced much more than they do today. Giving Suetonius, *On Grammarians*, as his source, Thomas Wise, in his *Animadversions on Lillies Grammar or Lilly Scanned* (1625) says of a grammarian:

Among the Ancients he was called *Grammaticus*, who did not onely teach how to speake a tongue well, but also did examine, and, discuss all the difficulties in Poets, Historians, Orators, Philosophers &c. hee that

² Donald Lemen Clark, "Iconography of the Seven Liberal Arts," *Stained Glass*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1933).

taught the Elements of words, letters, was called *Grammatista*. *Grammaticus* with them was as much as *Literatus*, a learned scholar, or criticke, whom we now call a philologer.³

To be sure the grammar school in Suetonius' day as in Milton's taught the elements of words and letters as well as explained the difficulties of the poets, historians, and orators, and a great deal more. In the passage which follows the one which Wise correctly summarizes, Suetonius adds:

The grammarians of early days taught rhetoric as well, and we have treatises from many men on both subjects. It was this custom, I think, which led those of later times also, although the two professions had now become distinct, nevertheless either to retain or to introduce certain kinds of exercises suited to the training of orators, such as problems, paraphrases, speeches, and character sketches; doubtless that they might not turn over their pupils to the rhetorician unprepared.⁴

Quintilian⁵ considered such teaching of rhetoric by the grammar teacher as an encroachment, but the customs of the English grammar school show that the encroachment had become a tradition. Such a *grammaticus* as Dr. Gil, Milton's High Master, taught how to speak a tongue well, discussed the difficulties of the classical authors, and taught elementary exercises in rhetoric.

An interesting sidelight on the close resemblance of the English grammar school to its original, the Roman school of the *grammaticus*, is shown by the fact that neither, when first organized, was concerned with teaching the vernacular. The Roman boy studied Greek grammar, Greek writers, and wrote his elementary exercises in Greek. Only when the Roman *grammaticus* had acquired a classic Roman literature to teach, and large numbers of non-Latin speaking provincials to teach it to, did he begin to teach Latin grammar and discuss the difficulties of Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and Sallust. Likewise the English boy in the humanistic grammar school was taught not English grammar but Latin. The poets dis-

³ Wise, *op. cit.* (London, 1625), A 3 recto and verso. Plimpton copy.

⁴ Suet. *Gram.* iv.

⁵ II, iv, 1-3.

cussed were not English poets, but Latin and Greek poets. As English poets began to produce a classical English literature, the study of English literature was gradually introduced into the school. Dr. Gil, a leader in this movement, wrote an English grammar, the *Logonomia Anglica* (1619), which explained English grammar and rhetoric, in Latin to be sure, but illustrated many of the beauties of the language with quotations from Spenser, Sidney, and Wither.

But if in antiquity and in the Renaissance, Grammar tended to encroach on rhetoric, so did rhetoric encroach on logic in antiquity and logic encroach on rhetoric in the Renaissance.

From the beginning there were three characteristic and divergent views on rhetoric. There was the moral philosophical view of Plato, who condemned rhetoric because it seemed to him to deal with appearances, opinion, and pleasure, whereas it ought to deal with reality, truth, and the good life. Plato thought that logic, as practiced in the dialectical disputations of the Socratic dialogs, was a guide to the attainment of truth. Then there was the philosophical scientific view of Aristotle, who endeavored to devise a theory of rhetoric without moral praise or blame for it. He claimed a close kinship between rhetoric, the art of public speaking, and dialectic, the art of logical discussion. He condemns teachers of rhetoric who devote themselves exclusively to appeals to the feelings and neglect the true constituents of the art—persuasion through an effort to use logical arguments. There was finally the practical educational view of the rhetoricians from Isocrates to Cicero to Quintilian, who praised rhetoric, practiced it, and taught it as an essential attribute of the free citizen. Isocrates preferred to call himself a philosopher rather than a rhetorician, and his school a school of philosophy. He does not usually talk about "rhetoric" but about "the art of discourse" ⁶ or the "philosophy of discourse." ⁷ The Greek word translated as "discourse" is

⁶ *Antid.* 253.

⁷ *Panegy.* 10.

"logos," the word, speech, reason, whence the English word "logic" is derived. But Cicero is not afraid of "rhetoric" when he exclaims, "Behold, there arose Isocrates, the master of all rhetoricians, from whose school, as from the Horse of Troy, none but leaders emerged." ⁸

The inclusive view of rhetoric maintained by Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian made its aim the training of the whole man for public affairs. It was the aim Milton later adopted in his *Of Education*. Its noblest product was the orator statesman, who was to guide the state through reasoned and impassioned eloquence, not by arbitrary force, for the benefit of the commonwealth. Isocrates, the "Old man eloquent" of Milton's Tenth sonnet, was such an orator statesman; so was Cicero; so was John Milton when he published *A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing* called *Areopagitica*.

An eloquent statement of the high value of eloquence is contained in *Nicocles or The Cyprians*, which Isocrates wrote as a prosopopoeia as though to be spoken by Nicocles, King of Cyprus, on the duties of the subject to his ruler. It is a companion piece to the speech by Isocrates called *To Nicocles*, on the duties of a king to his people, which Thomas Elyot published in English translation, as *The Doctrinal of Princes* (1534). As a schoolboy at St. Paul's Milton would find both speeches in the small school library, in the edition of the complete works of Isocrates with a translation into Latin by Jerome Wolf, Basel, 1570.⁹ I shall quote from *Nicocles* part of Isocrates' statement in the English translation made by Thomas Forrest and published in *A Perfect Looking Glasse for all Estates* (1580).

There is no difference betwixt us & all other living creatures in any other qualitie: but onely in this, (the studie of Eloquence); nay we are surpassed of every of them, either in quicknesse or in strength or in any other gifte, which nature hath bestowed uppon us, but onely in

⁸ *De orat.*, II, xxii, 94.

⁹ Isocrates *Graec. cum castigat Wolphii*. Robert Barlow Gardiner, *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School* . . . (London, 1881), p. 451. Appendix I, "The School Library."

that through this singular benefite, we take advisementes and consultations of eche thing as well present as past, as also to utter and to expresse to eche other our mindes and opinions, by the which particuler priviledge, we doe not only varie and differ from that brutische life, but also learne by good forecast to builde Cities, to make lawes, and to invent al Artes and trades of well living, dooing nothing which may be accounted singular and exquisite, but that Eloquence is the chieftest furtherer of the same, in so much that nothing is broughte to passe withoute her helpe, for it is she onely that ordaineth and appointeth a convenient and decent order to bee observed, both in thinges lawfull or unlawfull, honest or dishonest, and in all causes whatsoever they be, for otherwise the society of mankinde could not be maintained. It is she which reprooveth and correcteth the wicked, encourageth and imboldeth the godly, instructeth the foolishe, craveth the counsell and judgement of the wise: dissolveth and dispatcheth all quarrells and controversies, and procureth the knowledge and understanding of thinges unknowne. Those reasons which we use in our pleadings to the perswading of others, are also as common to us in our private deliberations and conferences, in so much as wee judge those men to be eloquent, which can discretly and orderly frame their declamations before the people, as also wittily behave themselves in the consulting and deliberating of eche perticuler matter. For we thinke it an especiall token of a good judgement & perfect brayne, to utter our wordes in decente and comelye order, and that faire and honest talke is a sure signe of a plaine and true meaning heart: but to speake effectually of the full force of this science, wee shall finde nothing done with reason which hath not been brought about by the helpe of Eloquence, so that she remaineth the chieftest guide of all our thoughts and deedes, being the only instrument of the wise and learned. Now therefore as touching those men whose use it is to speake so reproachefully of the maisters of this arte, and of all such as shewe themselves studious in the knowledge of good literature, truly in my opinion they are as greatly to be hated and misliked, as are they which cursedly violate and spoyle the temples of the gods immortal.¹⁰

It is this "Eloquence" which Isocrates describes so glowingly that was named Rhetoric by most other ancient speakers and writers. "Rhetoric," says Aristotle, "may be defined as the faculty of discovering all the possible means of persuasion in any subject."¹¹ The *Ad Herennium* defines the

¹⁰ *Nicocles*, 5-9. Forrest, *op. cit.*, 33 v. and 34 r. Huntington Library copy.

¹¹ *Rhet.* I, ii. Wellton's trans.

purpose of rhetoric as "so to speak as to gain the assent of the audience as far as possible,"¹² and Cicero says, "The office of the orator is to speak in a way adapted to win the assent of his audience."¹³ Quintilian emphasizes persuasion less in defining rhetoric as "the art of effective public speech."¹⁴ The Latin word translated as "speak" in the foregoing definitions is "dicere," which, in rhetorical contexts, means the formal delivery of a speech or what we call in schools "public speaking."¹⁵

To these and to all other orators and rhetoricians of their age, rhetoric had five parts, which, in review, may be shown tabularly as follows, using the familiar Latin names:

1. *Inventio*. This is the art of finding arguments in support of a speaker's position. Arguments adduced from the testimony of witnesses or contracts were thought to lie outside the art of rhetoric but were, of course, used when available. The arguments considered to lie within the art of rhetoric were those based on the *Topics* or *Commonplaces* of rhetorical invention and on inductive and deductive reasoning. Such arguments were, of course, also taught by logic and hence their use in rhetoric might be considered as encroachments by teachers of logic.

2. *Dispositio*. This is the art of arranging the arguments previously discovered or rhetorically "invented" into a sequence which would be most likely to rouse a reader's or hearer's interest, inform him of the issues, and persuade him of the truth or probability of the speaker's or writer's position. The conventional arrangement was to open with an *exordium*, which should render the audience attentive and friendly, continue with a *narratio*, or statement of facts colored to make them appear favorable to the speaker's side, proceed with a *divisio*, perhaps, to forecast the main points

¹² *Ad Heren.* I, 2.

¹³ Cicero, *De orat.* I, 138.

¹⁴ Quint. II, xv, 38.

¹⁵ A much fuller discussion of definitions of rhetoric in ancient times and in the Renaissance than would be appropriate here is to be found in my *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (New York, 1922), pp. 23-31, 43-55.

the speaker planned to make, bring up the heavy artillery of *confirmatio*, or affirmative proof, and *refutatio*, or rebuttal, and wind up with a ringing *peroratio*. Clearly *dispositio* and *inventio* are the parts of classical rhetoric nearest related to the art of reasoning called dialectic or logic. They were, indeed, introduced into rhetoric from logic by Aristotle who quite sensibly thought the processes of reasoning were useful in the rhetorical discussion of probabilities as well as in scientific demonstrations of truth.¹⁶ But, as we shall see, Logic reclaimed her own before Milton's school days had begun.

3. *Elocutio*. This is the art of clothing thoughts and feelings in language which is correct, appropriate, and pleasing. It involves choosing the best words and putting them in the best places. It is what we now call style, and in antiquity as today was thought to be common to prose and verse, to poetry and to oratory. Classical critics and teachers delighted to analyze the characteristics of style into categories much more elaborate and detailed than suits the modern taste. Renaissance teachers and writers followed the ancients enthusiastically. So when Richard Sherry wrote *A Treatise of Schemes & Tropes* (1550), he was following an ancient classification which Quintilian summarized and sanctioned. The following is the skeleton of Quintilian's summary. A *trope* is still what it used to be—a turning from a literal to a figurative meaning; metaphor, allegory, hyperbole are tropes. The *schemes* (σχήματα) are figures or patterns which depart somewhat from the everyday patterns of speech. They are of two kinds. The figures of thought (*figurae sententiarum*) include comparison, self-correction, paradox, and parody. The figures of language (*figurae verborum*) include antithesis, rhyme, repetition, and climax.¹⁷ Quintilian concludes his discussion by saying, "With regard to the figures, I would add briefly that they adorn language if they are tactfully used, but they are exceedingly inept if they are immoderately

¹⁶ *Rhet.* I, 1-2. ¹⁷ Quint., for tropes, VIII, vi; for *figurae*, IX, ii and iii.

sought after." Men of the Renaissance delighted to adorn their persons with fine clothes and to clothe their thoughts with ornate language. Sometimes they sought immoderately after the schemes and tropes.

4. *Pronuntiatio* or *actio*. This is the art of delivery in oral address. It involves the arts of voice and gesture, common to orator and dramatic actor. It has little to do with the written word except as the written word is read aloud (or read with the mind's ear). It has much less to do with the rhetoric of the Renaissance than with the rhetoric of Greece and Rome, because in Greece and Rome words were spoken to be heard and in Renaissance Europe words were written to be printed to be read.

5. *Memoria*. The art of remembering the points a speaker wishes to make in an oral address was also peculiar to spoken oratory. It received but slight attention in Rome and was all but forgotten in the Renaissance, and remembered by Farnaby's friend Vossius only to be denied as a part of rhetoric at all.¹⁸

Long before Milton's schooldays philosophers and logicians had pretty generally reclaimed *inventio* and *dispositio* for logic, leaving to rhetoric only *elocutio* and *pronuntiatio*.¹⁹ In the allegories Lady Rhetoric lost her sword and shield and went armed only with crowns of laurel and sprays of flowers. When Milton attended St. Paul's School the most influential dialectician who had robbed rhetoric to pay logic was Petrus Ramus, whose philosophy of rhetoric and logic influenced Milton throughout his life.

Petrus Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée) was associated with Audomari Talaeus (Omer Talon) in the publication of two closely related works. The *Rhetorica* of Talaeus, published before 1553, was issued "e P. Rami . . . praelectionibus

¹⁸ G. J. Vossius, *Commentariorum Rhetoricorum libri sex* (1630), I, i, 3; 4th ed., 1643, p. 6.

¹⁹ D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry*, pp. 56-61.

observata" in 1579. The *Dialectica* of Ramus was issued "A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrata" in 1560. The *Rhetorica* treated *elocutio* and *pronuntiatio*; The *Dialectica* treated *inventio* and *judicium*. It will be observed that the two taken together covered the ground usually covered in ancient rhetoric. This is also true of other Ramian treatises which were also published in pairs, as Abraham Fraunce, *Lawiers Logike* and *Arcadian Rhetoric* (both 1588) and Dudley Fenner, *The Artes of Logike and Rhetorike* (1584).

Milton's association with Ramist concepts of rhetoric and logic began, as we shall see, when as a schoolboy he memorized Talaeus' *Rhetorica*, or Butler's adaptation of it, as part of his regular work in the Fifth Form. Ramus's *Scholae in liberales artes* . . . (Basel, 1578) was in the school library. Milton's own *Art of Logic* (1672) is an expanded critical version of Ramus's *Dialectica*, with modifications.

The modern reader will find that the most readily accessible approach to Ramian logic and rhetoric is Milton's version of the *Dialectica*, now published in the Columbia edition of Milton's works, with an English translation by Allan H. Gilbert,²⁰ from which I shall now quote briefly:

Logic is the art of reasoning well [*ars bene ratiocinandi*]. In the same sense the word *dialectic* is often used.

Logic however, that is the rational art, is so named from λόγος, a word which in Greek means reason, the subject which logic takes for explanation.

And to reason is to use the faculty of reason. In order to distinguish the perfection of the art from the imperfection of the natural faculty, the word *well* [*bene*], that is rightly, skilfully, promptly, is added to the definition.

I have thought it proper to use the word *logic* rather than, with

²⁰ Joannis Miltoni Angli, *Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio, ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata, Adjecta est Praxis Analytica & Petri Rami vita. Libri duobus*. Londini, Impensis Spencer Hickman, Societatis Regalis Typographi, ad insigni Rosae in Caemeterio, D. Pauli. 1672. For more about Ramus see Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, pp. 493 ff. and especially Appendix A; W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance*, pp. 55-57.

Peter Ramus, *dialectic*, because by logic the whole art of reasoning is aptly signified; while dialectic . . . indicates rather the art of questioning and answering, that is of debating.²¹

All reasoning is made up of reasons either considered alone and for themselves or related to each other; they are more often called arguments.

Hence there are two parts of logic: the invention [*inventio*] of reasons or arguments and the disposition [*dispositio*] of them.

Ramus follows the ancients, Aristotle, Cicero, and Fabius, in dividing dialectic into invention and judgment. But in truth not invention, which however taken is too broad a term, but the invention of arguments should be called the first part of logic.²² . . .

Just as the first part of grammar deals with single words, the second part with their syntax, so the first part of logic has dealt with the finding of arguments, and the second is concerned with disposing them, that is, it teaches rightly to dispose arguments; disposition [*dispositio*] is thus the syntax as it were of the arguments, not merely for judging well, as Ramus holds, for that is too narrow, but for thinking well, which is the general end of logic, to which as to a single end all the precepts of the art are directed. I do not therefore agree with those who hold that judgment is the second part of logic.²³

These we may properly consider to be Milton's mature views on logic. In school, however, both logic and rhetoric were necessarily introduced to him in their most elementary forms, logic through the exercises of Aphthonius *Progymnasmata* rather than through a formal treatise. What happened and in what sequence he would recognize from Kempe's suggested plan for the Sixth Form in *The Education of Children* (1588):

Then shall followe the third degree for Logike and Rhetorike, and the more perfect understanding of the Grammar and knowledge of the tongues. First the scholler shal learne the precepts concerning the divers Sorts of arguments in the first part of Logike (for that without them

²¹ *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank A. Patterson and others (18 vols., New York, Columbia University Press, 1931-1938), XI, 19-21. Hereafter this is cited as *Columbia Milton*.

²² *Ibid.*, XI, 23.

²³ *Ibid.*, XI, 295. Readers who would rather have Ramus' *Dialectica* untouched by Milton will find translations by Makylmenaeum in 1576, Wotton, 1626; R. F. Gent, 1632.

Rhetorike cannot be well understood) then shall followe the tropes and figures in the first part of Rhetorike.²⁴

Kempe's "first part of Logike" is, as we have seen from our brief glance at Ramus, *inventio* or the invention of arguments. This was to be followed by *elocutio*, the first part of rhetoric according to the Ramist system. The effect on Milton or any other schoolboy was that he was taught the same arts of eloquence as if his masters had chosen to call it all rhetoric instead of calling part of it rhetoric and the other part logic. But however much the arts of grammar, logic, and rhetoric were defined and redefined, they lost and gained only at one another's expense. They continued to add up to a sum called the trivium, which continued to embrace the arts of communication in language. Perhaps Isocrates had been wise to call the arts he taught in his school "the philosophy of the logos."

²⁴ Kempe, *The Education of Children in Learning: Declared by the Dignitie, Utilitie, and Method thereof* (London, 1588), G 2 v.

2. *Milton as a Schoolboy*

THE BEST INTRODUCTION to the boy Milton is the portrait of him at the age of ten reputed to have been painted by Cornelius Janssen. This is the painting referred to by Aubrey in his notes, "Ao Dm 1619, he was ten years old, as by his picture: & was then a poet. His schoolmaster was a puritan in Essex, who cutt his haire short." The portrait was in the possession of Milton's widow when she died in 1727 and is now preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. It is reproduced in color as the frontispiece to Volume I of the Columbia edition of Milton's works.

It is a serious little face that looks out from the canvas. The dark, wide open eyes meet the eyes of the beholder unflinchingly. Beneath the soft curves of childhood the head seems solid and firm. The hair is cropped short as Aubrey describes in his notes. The eyebrows are faint. The little boy is held stiff in his formal braided best clothes, and the lower part of his face is framed by a stiff and elaborate lace collar. Cipriani's engraving from this painting is reproduced by McDonnell in his *History of St. Paul's School*,¹ and Masson uses as a frontispiece to the first volume of his *Life of Milton* ² Radclyffe's engraving from a photograph of the painting. Partly, perhaps, as a result of the sharp-line technic involved, the two engravings show a brighter, firmer-faced little boy than does the painting.

Whether the little boy in the picture was just entering St. Paul's School as a pupil, or had already studied there for a few years, or had yet a year with a tutor at home before en-

¹ Michael F. J. McDonnell, *A History of St. Paul's School* (London, 1909). The engraving faces p. 172.

² David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (London, 1859-1894), Vol. I, revised, 1881.

tering school can only be conjectured, although recent conjecture puts him in school earlier than was formerly thought. Indeed, as A. F. Leach says, "Almost everything to do with Milton's schooldays depends not on documentary evidence, not even on 'oral tradition,' but on inference and conjecture."³ It is true that no records of St. Paul's School are known to survive the great fire of 1666, which consumed the school building along with most of London. It is from the records of Christ's College, Cambridge, that we learn, "John Milton, of London, son of John, was educated in the elements of literature by Master Gill, head of St. Paul's School; and was admitted as a lesser pensioner February 12, 1624."⁴ New style that would be 1625, and as he was born December 9, 1608, we can infer that he was entered at college at the age of sixteen years and two months.

Fortunately a great deal of evidence about the school, the schoolmasters, and the course of study can be picked up here and there from Milton's own words and from contemporary records and allusions, much more evidence than Leach suggests, and I believe that Milton's life as a little boy and his relations with his school environment can be reconstructed with reasonable accuracy.

The very best evidence for Milton's schooling, as for subsequent activities of his maturity, is that of his own explicit statement during his lifetime. Aubrey's *Notes*, the earliest of those contained in *The Early Lives of Milton* which Miss Darbyshire has carefully edited,⁵ was prepared at least seven years after Milton's death. These early lives contain important information drawn from other sources than Milton's own statements, but they do draw much, and most properly, from what Milton said of himself. And for his schooldays

³ A. F. Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, III, 296. Read December 10, 1908, as part of the ceremonies attendant on the tercentenary of Milton's birth.

⁴ Masson's translation in his *Life of Milton*, I, 88. For Milton's birth, see *ibid.*, I, 1.

⁵ Helen Darbyshire, ed., *The Early Lives of Milton* (London, 1932).

Milton's statements are, as we shall see, almost the only trustworthy evidence. None of the biographers knew him when he was a little boy, and their only firsthand source of information, Milton's brother Christopher, was seven years his junior.

In the very interesting autobiographical foreword to the second book of *The Reason of Church-Government Urg'd against Prelaty* (1641) Milton makes several explicit and important statements about his boyhood. He was taught languages by teachers both at home and at school. His teachers assigned themes in prose and verse for him to write. They corrected the themes. He also wrote prose and verse on his own. His earliest teachers discovered, in his verses especially, great promise. Here follows his own less bald statement of these facts:

I must say therefore that after I had from my first yeeres by the ceaselesse diligence and care of my father, whom God recompence, bin exercis'd to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the over-looking, or betak'n to of mine own choise in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the stile by certain vital signes it had, was likely to live.⁶

The earliest explicit account Milton gives of what languages he learned as a boy, at home or at school, is contained in *Ad Patrem*.⁷ As we know that he studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew as part of the regular curriculum at St. Paul's School;⁸ it seems exceedingly probable that he had studied French and Italian at home with tutors during the same period before he proceeded to Cambridge. The passage from *Ad Patrem*, in translation, is this:

When at your expense, my noble father, there were revealed to me the eloquence of the language of Romulus and the graces of Latin, and also

⁶ Columbia *Milton*, III, 235.

⁷ Hanford and Visiak date it 1632. Tillyard and Diekhoff, 1637. John S. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself*, (New York, 1939), p. 117, note.

⁸ See p. 121.

the sonorous vocabulary developed by the oratorical Greeks, a vocabulary that fitted the mouth of Jove, you urged me to add the beauties of which the French language is so proud, and the speech that with degenerate lips testifying by his words to the wars of the barbarians the Italian of today pours forth, and the mysteries uttered by the prophets of Palestine.⁹

Of his dearest schoolboy friend, Charles Diodati, Milton wrote in his foreword to *Epitaphium Damonis* (1641), in which he mourns his death in Latin elegy, as follows:

Thyrsis and Damon, shepherds of the same neighborhood, devoted to the same pursuits, were friends from boyhood up [*a pueritia*], friends as close as e're men were. . . . By "Damon" is meant Charles Diodati, descended on his father's side from the Etruscan city of Lucca. In all things else he was an Englishman, a youth, while he lived, preeminent in intellect, in learning, and in all other brightest and fairest virtue.¹⁰

Diodati was a schoolmate of Milton's at St. Paul's School and went to Oxford in 1621-22. Because of Milton's early and strong friendship with Diodati, and doubtless through him with others who spoke Italian, including that Emilia to whom he wrote the Italian sonnets as early as 1630,¹¹ I feel that the evidence is strengthened for believing that Italian was one of the tongues Milton started to learn, through private instruction, while he was still a boy at St. Paul's School. Certainly with Milton's command of Latin while still in school neither French nor Italian would present much difficulty.

The *Apology for Smectymnuus* (1642), like the *Reason of Church Government*, is rich in autobiographical detail concerning Milton's boyhood at St. Paul's School, where we know he read the Latin and Greek historians and the elegiac poet Ovid.¹²

⁹ McCrea's trans. *The Student's Milton*, (ed. F. A. Patterson, New York, rev. ed., 1941), p. 102. Text and Knapp's trans. in *Columbia Milton* I, 274.

¹⁰ *Columbia Milton*, I, 294 ff.

¹¹ J. S. Smart, *The Sonnets of John Milton*, Glasgow, 1921.

¹² See p. 121.

In this passage he gives a key to an understanding of how the rhetorical exercise of imitation, as taught in school, heightened appreciation and stimulated the pupil to emulation of the great Latin poets. As he is engaged in defending himself against his opponent's accusations that he misspent his youth in "the Playhouses and the Bordelloes" he naturally dilates rhetorically on the purity of his schoolboy liking for elegy.

I had my time Readers, as others have, who have good learning bestow'd upon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was it might be soonest attain'd: and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave Orators & Historians; whose matter me thought I lov'd indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them; others were the smooth Elegiack Poets, whereof the Schooles are not scarce. Whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easy; and most agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome. For that it was then those years with me which are excus'd though they be least severe, I may be sav'd the labour to remember ye. Whence . . . I thought with myselfe . . . that what imboldn'd them to this task might with such diligence as they us'd imbolden me.¹³

In another section in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, where he is satirizing Hall's *Toothlesse Satirs*, Milton credits his schooling as well as his ear for his ability to distinguish versified drivel from poetry. "For this good hap I had from a carefull education to be inur'd and season'd betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an eare that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, then patient to read every drawling versifier."¹⁴ While Milton was enjoying the elegiac poets, and other "elegantest authors" in Latin and Greek, at grammar

¹³ *An Apology Against a Pamphlet call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus* (London, 1642), Columbia Milton, III, 302-303.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 328.

school, he was undoubtedly reading a good deal of congenial literature outside school hours. Hence I conjecture that it was of his schooldays he was speaking in the *Apology* when he tells of the romances he read in his youth: "Next . . . that I may tell ye whether my younger feet wander'd; I be-took me among those lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in solemne canto's the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious kings." ¹⁵

That religious as well as literary education was emphasized at St. Paul's School we know from Dean Colet's Statutes,¹⁶ so that we know that Milton was referring to his school as well as his home and the church when he said, likewise in the *Apology*, "Last of all not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity not to be negligently train'd in the precepts of Christian Religion." ¹⁷

That Milton, when he was a schoolboy, looked forward to the University as a preparation for a career as a Christian clergyman is clear and explicit from his statement in *The Reason of Church Government* where he speaks of his moral obligation to serve the Church, "to whose service by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destin'd of a child, and in mine own resolutions." ¹⁸

That Milton from his tenderest years had been brought up "To scorn delights, and live laborious dayes" does not depend on *Lycidas* alone for evidence. In the *Apology* he speaks of "the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tir'd out almost a whole youth." ¹⁹ And in the *Seventh Prolusion*, written over ten years earlier than the *Apology*, while he was a student at Cambridge, he speaks of hard study with greater emphasis on the rewards to be expected than on the weariness, "If from boyhood [*à pueritia*] we allow no day to pass without its lessons and diligent study, if in art we wisely omit what is foreign, superfluous,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 304.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 242.

¹⁶ See p. 100.

¹⁷ *Columbia Milton*, III, 305.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 282.

useless, then certainly within the age of Alexander the Great we shall have made a greater and more glorious conquest than that of the globe."²⁰

So far I have drawn Milton's testimony from writings not later than 1642, ten years after he received the A.M. degree from Cambridge and seventeen years after he left St. Paul's School for the University. In these passages he remembers his hard work and high ambitions in school and in college. He speaks of the languages he learned, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which were regularly taught in the best grammar schools, as well as French and Italian, which were not taught in the grammar schools. He speaks of the Latin and Greek orators, and historians, and especially the poets which he read as a regular part of the St. Paul's curriculum as well as the romances and fables he read in English, and probably in Italian, outside school. He writes letters to his school friend Diodati and mourns him in elegy. He writes to his tutor Thomas Young, and to his schoolmaster Alexander Gil, son of the High Master at St. Paul's School. These friendly letters to Gil I quote in a chapter devoted to Milton's schoolmasters at St. Paul's.²¹

The next testimony comes from the famous autobiographical passage in the *Second Defense* (1654). Twelve years have elapsed. Milton has married, and has written his divorce tracts. Charles I has lost his head and Milton has lost his eyesight. All these facts color the testimony I am about to quote.

In 1654 Milton was forty-six years old. He, like Dante, had reached and passed the middle years of his life and had stood before the gates of hell, although he had yet to write of his adventures within the gates. In the *Second Defense* we learn from him for the first time that he was not only an enthusiastic student of literature but that he was not physically strong. "Devoted even from a boy to the study of humane

²⁰ Columbia *Milton*, XII, 278. Masson's translation. ²¹ See pp. 68-69.

letters, and always stronger in mind than in body, I set an inferior value upon the service of the camp, in which I might have been easily surpassed by any ordinary man of a more robust make." ²² Moreover we learn for the first time that he had had headaches from childhood as a result of eyestrain caused by studying till midnight as a boy. How much of his later illness and eye trouble did he project on his memories of his childhood? How much is Gospel truth, now for the first time recorded? I fancy we shall never know. What he wrote will follow. It was noted by all, much more than what he had written twelve years and more earlier. It was repeated and repeated by all biographers of his childhood and youth:

My father destined me from a boy for the study of humane letters, which I seized upon so eagerly that from my twelfth year I hardly ever left my nocturnal studies for bed before midnight, which was the first cause of the ruin of my eyes, to whose natural weakness were added frequent headaches. Since all this did not retard my ardor for learning, he caused me to be instructed daily at the grammar school and under other masters at home. When I was thus instructed in various languages and had acquired no small taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge, one of our two colleges. There, remote from all shame, with the approbation of all good men, I followed for seven years the usual course of study in the arts and sciences, until I obtained, cum laude, the degree of master, as it is called.²³

This most important statement, it must be remembered, is offered in self-defense in his controversy, first with Salmasius, and now with More. Such a situation required, according to all the traditions of controversy, a rhetorical dilation of his own virtue, just as his attacks on the enemy required a rhetorical dilation of vilification respecting the real or imagined biography of his opponents. I do not mean to impugn the credibility of so important a witness as Milton testifying on Milton, but I owe it to my reader to remind him that the rules of rhetoric require a speaker to present himself in as favor-

²² *Ibid.*, VIII, 11: "ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis, ut qui maximè deditus." My translation.

²³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 118-120. My translation.

able a light as possible.²⁴ Thus the emphasis on his weak eyes and his late hours of study, an emphasis repeated by all early biographers, is greater than it would have been had not Milton's opponents constantly repeated the accusation that his blindness came on him as a just punishment from God for his impious support of regicide. That this accusation was true was much more generally believed than a modern reader is likely to credit. The best rebuttal was that his blindness had been coming on for a long time and that his eyes were weak from childhood.²⁵ And the mere truth of the argument would have had little probative value with the audience unless it was presented with rhetorical emphasis.

The next step is to examine briefly the accounts of the early biographers. As I have intimated, most of what they say was drawn from Milton's own statements, but something was added.

The notes of John Aubrey, who drew his information from Milton's brother Christopher, his nephew Edward Phillips, and other firsthand sources have this to say:

He went to schoole to old Mr Gill at Paules schoole;

Ao Dm 1619, he was ten yeares old, as by his picture: & was then a poet. His schoolmaster was a puritan in Essex, who cutt his haire short.

his father read without spectacles at 84. his mother had very weak eyes, & used spectacles presently after she was thirty yeares old.

from his Bro: Chr. Milton. When he went to Schoole, when he was very young he studied very hard and sate-up very late, commonly till 12 or one a'clock at night, & his father ordered the mayde to sitt-up for him, and in those years composed many Copies of verses, which might well become a riper age.²⁶

The anonymous life of Milton, attributed by Miss Darbyshire to Milton's nephew John Phillips,²⁷ after speaking of John Milton the elder, states:

²⁴ Arist. *Rhet.*, II, i, 5; Quint. V, xii, 9; Cic. *De part.* VIII, 28. *Milton, I Profusion*, Columbia *Milton*, XII, 119.

²⁵ Eleanor Gertrude Brown, *Milton's Blindness* (New York, 1934), pp. 24-26.

²⁶ Darbyshire, *Early Lives*, pp. 2, 4-5, 10. I have expanded some of Aubrey's contractions.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xxvi.

This his eldest Son had his institution to learning both under public, and private Masters; under whom, through pregnancy of his Parts, & his indefatigable industry (sitting up constantly at his Study till midnight) hee profited exceedingly; and early in that time wrote several grave and religious Poems, and paraphras'd some of Davids Psalms.²⁸

And of the *Defensio*,

While hee was thus employ'd his Eysight totally faild him; not through any immediat or sudden Judgment, as his Adversaries insultingly affirm'd; but from a weakness which his hard nightly study in his youth had first occasion'd, and which by degrees had for some time before depriv'd him of the use of one Ey.²⁹

Anthony à Wood adds nothing to Aubrey and the anonymous biographer, whose manuscripts he had before him when he wrote.

That he the said *John Milton* the Author, was educated mostly in *Pauls* school under *Alex. Gill* senior, and thence at 15 years of age was sent to *Christs Coll.* in *Cambridge*, where he was put under the tuition of *Will. Chappell*, afterwards Bishop of *Ross* in *Ireland*, and there, as at school 3 years before, 'twas usual with him to sit up till midnight at his book, which was the first thing that brought his eyes into the danger of blindness. By this his indefatigable study he profited exceedingly, wrot then several Poems, paraphras'd some of *David's Psalms*, performed the collegiate and academical exercise to the admiration of all, and was esteemed to be a vertuous and sober person.³⁰

Wood's last "then" is carelessly ambiguous, for the anonymous biographer had placed the paraphrases in Milton's school years, and Aubrey had him writing verses at ten.

"The Life of Mr. John Milton," by his nephew Edward Phillips, first appeared as an introduction to an English version of the State Letters, published in 1694. Phillips says:

John our Author, who was destin'd to be the Ornament and Glory of his Countrey, was sent, together with his Brother, to *Paul's* School, whereof Dr. *Gill* the Elder was then Chief Master; where he was enter'd into the first Rudiments of Learning, and advanced therein with that admirable Success, not more by the Discipline of the School and good Instructions of his Masters (for that he had another Master possibly at his Father's house, appears by the Fourth Elegy of his Latin

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Poems written in his 18th year, to *Thomas Young*, Pastor of the *English* Company of Merchants at *Hamborough*, wherein he owns and stiles him his Master), than by his own happy Genius, prompt Wit and Apprehension, and insuperable Industry; for he generally sate up half the Night, as well in voluntary Improvements of his own choice, as the exact perfecting of his School-Exercises.³¹

While the foregoing accumulation of testimony throws a great deal of light on young Milton while he was a schoolboy at St. Paul's, three problems, however, receive very little light indeed, and these problems will be seen to have close interrelations. The first problem is that of Milton's age at his admission to grammar school, the second is the problem of his relationship with his tutor, Thomas Young, the third problem concerns his eyesight and his habit of midnight study. Granted that the pernicious habit of late study by candlelight injured his eyes and gave him headaches, how much if any did eyestrain and headaches delay his entrance at school, cause him to have part of his schooling under a tutor, or delay his entrance at the University? It may be that no direct and conclusive evidence on these matters will ever be forthcoming.

If the admission registers of St. Paul's School before 1666 were available, the first question would be answered. But do the records exist? Were they destroyed with the school buildings in the great fire? Leach, in 1908, grieved that the Mercer's Company, governors of the school, had not opened their records to research. But the Mercers' records have now been opened to Sir Michael McDonnell, who has written me that in his studies of them he has found, "no evidence as to when Milton entered St. Paul's."³² So the date of Milton's admission to school is still a matter of conjecture.

Wood, as we have seen, says of Milton's life at Cambridge, "There, as at school 3 years before, 'twas usual with

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

³² Letter dated Sept. 1, 1946. Sir Michael plans to include the results of his studies in a forthcoming revision of the Admission Records of the school and in a subsequent revision of his own *History of St. Paul's School*.

him to sit up till midnight with his book." From this it has been carelessly inferred that he entered school only three years before he entered the University. Of course he might have entered school at seven and merely put off midnight study until he was twelve. Masson quite properly points out that Milton's schoolboy friendship with Charles Diodati began at St. Paul's, that Diodati went to Oxford in 1621-22, and that hence Milton must have entered St. Paul's not later than 1620 to give the boys an opportunity to form their friendship, which they maintained until Diodati's death. St. Paul's School was organized into eight classes or forms. This course of study would normally require eight years for completion if a boy entered the first form and followed normal procedures. Hence if Milton entered in 1620 and completed the course in time to be admitted to Christ's College in February, 1624-25, he probably entered St. Paul's at the beginning of the fifth form at about the age of twelve, having received the equivalent of the first four years of the course through private instruction at home, an unusual procedure, which no evidence supports.

Leach, out of his lifetime experience as an historian of the grammar school in England, points out, "In Milton's day, and for many years after, seven was the normal age for boys to go to school especially to a day-school, as St. Paul's was" ³³ and T. W. Baldwin, in his elaborate and weighty study of Shakespeare and his grammar school education, adduces a wealth of documentary evidence in support of the same conclusion—that "The traditional age for entrance to grammar school proper was seven." ³⁴ Hence Leach is on firm ground when he asserts, "As Milton was already astonishing the household with his Latin verses at the age of eleven, i. e. in 1618, and verses were not done till the 4th form, which he would in the usual course reach in three

³³ "Milton as Schoolboy," p. 296.

³⁴ T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vol. (Urbana, Ill., 1944) I, 441-442.

years, we may send him to school more safely in 1615." ³⁵

Strong substantiation for an early date, 1615-1616, is afforded by the statement by Edward Phillips to the effect that at St. Paul's School Milton "was enter'd into the first Rudiments of Learning." The first Rudiments could be nothing but the beginning of Lily's Latin Grammar studied in the First Form. Phillip's statement is direct and confident in contrast to his parenthetical conjecture "that he had another master possibly at his Father's house, appears by the Fourth Elegy of his Latin Poems written in his 18th year, to *Thomas Young*."

Now Thomas Young, as one of the "sundry masters and teachers at home" who contributed to Milton's schooling, is the second of the interrelated problems I have mentioned. That Young was the first teacher to introduce Milton to Latin poetry is the usual interpretation of the following statement that Milton makes in the elegy: "With him to lead the way, I first traversed the Aonian glens [*Primus ego Aonios illo praeunte recessus lustrabam*] and the sacred boskage of the twice cloven peak, drank of the Pierian spring, and by Clio's grace thrice wet my happy lips with Castalia's wine." ³⁶

But William R. Parker, with the support of E. K. Rand, asserts that *primus*, in the passage just quoted, should be translated, "I was the first under his guidance," and does not mean Young was his first teacher.³⁷ Young became Milton's tutor in 1618 and went to Hamburg in 1620.³⁸ In 1618 Milton was ten years old and would have had at least two years of instruction in the rudiments of Latin, either in the First and Second Class at St. Paul's School, the most

³⁵ "Milton as Schoolboy," pp. 296-297. McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, p. 170, follows Leach in sending him to school in 1615 at the age of seven.

³⁶ McCrea's trans., *Student's Milton*, p. 88. Text, and Knapp's trans., *Columbia Milton*, I, 186-187.

³⁷ "Milton and Thomas Young, 1620-1628," *Modern Language Notes*, LIII (June, 1938), 403, note 6.

³⁸ Arthur Barker, "Milton's Schoolmasters," *Modern Language Review*, XXXII, (1937), 516.

probable conjecture, or at home with some other tutor. He would also have been ready to begin reading Latin poetry either at St. Paul's School in the Third Class or at home with Thomas Young, or with supplementary instruction from Young while he continued as a regular pupil at St. Paul's. Therefore the usual interpretation of the *Fourth Elegy* may still be accepted, that Young first introduced him to Latin poetry. Young could not have been his first tutor or teacher.

That Milton maintained a warm and generous friendship for Young two of his *Epistolae Familiares* attest. In the first of these letters, dated March 26, 1625,³⁹ Milton writes, "For I call God to witness how much in the light of a Father I regard you, with what singular devotion I have always followed you in thought."⁴⁰ In the second letter, dated from Cambridge, July 21, 1628, Milton gracefully accepts an invitation to visit Young at Stowmarket, whither he had gone as vicar after his return from Hamburg. But the relations between Young and Milton after 1620 lie outside the province of this study. Suffice it that while Milton was a schoolboy Young taught him Latin poetry and that Milton was devoted to him.

The third related problem remains—Milton's eye trouble while he was a schoolboy and his habit of late study. Now if Milton entered school in 1615 at the age of seven, then he took nine years to go through the eight classes at St. Paul's. Or if he entered school in 1615 and completed the course in eight years, he might have stayed out of school for a year before entering college. Or if he entered St. Paul's late in 1616 or early in 1617 at the age of eight, he completed the course in the usual eight years. According to any of these conjectures he would have taken a disproportionately long time to complete his schooling. His friend Diodati, like him

³⁹ W. H. Parker, "Milton and Young," pp. 404-406, plausibly conjectures that this letter was written in 1627 at the same time as the *Fourth Elegy*.

⁴⁰ *Epist.* I, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 7.

born in 1608, entered Oxford three years earlier than Milton entered Cambridge. In fact most bright boys entered the universities at an earlier age than did Milton. What held him back? Was he mentally slow, so that it took him longer to do his lessons? This is unlikely. In his *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* (1669) he says he seeks a new method of teaching "whereby the long way is much abbreviated."⁴¹ Was he a stubborn perfectionist who took longer because he insisted on getting his lessons so much more thoroughly than the other boys? This is plausible, at least as a contributory cause. Was he so overloaded by his father with extracurricular study of music, French, and Italian, as well as driven by a childhood passion for writing poetry, that he could not keep up with the normal pace of a schoolboy at St. Paul's? Or did physical frailty and ill health in childhood—perhaps the eye trouble and headaches he mentioned in later life—hold him back? Perhaps, in some measure, the answer should be "Yes," to the last three questions. It was Milton's eye trouble and the relative lateness of his admission to the University that set Mutschmann off on his theory of Milton's albinism.⁴² Hanford says, paradoxically, "Mutschmann's supposition that Milton was an albino is wholly fantastic, but there is food for thought in his analysis."⁴³ The food which I have found for thought relates to Milton's weak eyes, which, as we shall see, resulted from other causes than albinism; his unusual habit of studying till midnight, and his late entrance at the University. Before reading Mutschmann I had puzzled over the question of Milton's statement, supported by Aubrey's quotations from Christopher Milton, that he often read till midnight or later and the undoubted rules of St. Paul's School that the boys should attend from 7 to 11, and from 1 to 5.⁴⁴ When did Milton sleep? Six hours a night is not enough for a boy. Did he take a nap at noon?

⁴¹ *Columbia Milton*, VI, 285.

⁴² Heinrich Mutschmann, *The Secret of John Milton* (Dorpat, 1925).

⁴³ James H. Hanford, *Milton Handbook* (4th ed., New York, 1946), p. 351.

⁴⁴ Lupton, *Life of Colet* (1909), p. 277.

Or did he stay up only before holidays? What eye trouble might have handicapped him as a schoolboy, caused him to study late at night, at least on occasion, and protracted his school days?

Miss Eleanor Brown, whose *Milton's Blindness* presents the best summary of the evidence and appraisal of it, tells us all we shall probably ever know:

There is no evidence supporting the theories of albinism and of congenital syphilis. There is medical authority for the theory of a streptococcic infection which could also cause arthritis. . . . There is considerable medical evidence in favor of the glaucoma theory and in favor of the theory of myopia and detachment of the retina. . . . Yet in view of the limited information . . . the cause of Milton's blindness remains, and must remain, unsolved.⁴⁵

That Milton was not the only boy who studied till midnight on occasion is indicated by the statement of James Whitelocke, who became a probationer of St. John's College in Oxford in 1588. Whitelocke's story also illustrates how a boy might have an hour with a tutor after school hours and before supper. He was reading Hebrew with a Mr. Hopkinson to supplement the Hebrew he was having at Merchant Taylors' School:

He red unto me all Jobe, and twenty Psalmes, and a part of Genesis, and after I had taken my lecture from him, which was after five of the clock that I went from school, I wolde duly, after supper, make a praxis of that I had herd, and set it downe in writing; by reason whearof, the winter before my going to Oxon, I sate up duly everye nighte untill 12 of the clock or verye neer.⁴⁶

As I review the discussions of the boy Milton's studying until midnight, his eye strain, and his headaches, I feel that the whole issue, or nexus of issues, has been given a disproportionate emphasis ever since the late seventeenth century. Milton started the overemphasis himself in the process of defending himself against the unjust accusation that his blindness was a punishment from God. His brother Christopher,

⁴⁵ Brown, *Milton's Blindness*, p. 48.

⁴⁶ Sir James Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus* (Camden Society, Vol. LXX) 13.

aged five when John began at twelve the habit of studying until midnight, gave the story further emphasis when he told Aubrey about 1680 that his father had the maid sit up when John studied till twelve or one o'clock. Christopher was nine when John went off to Cambridge at sixteen; and undoubtedly remembered about the maid sitting up and John crouched late over his book. But I cannot believe it was so common an experience in fact as it became in Christopher's memory almost sixty years later.

But I do not doubt that late hours did contribute to Milton's eyestrain and headaches, and I conjecture that now and then they got so severe that his studies were interrupted until he felt relief, and finally that the eye trouble combined with the overload of extracurricular studies retarded Milton so that he entered college a few years later than he normally would.

I further conjecture with Leach that Milton entered school in 1615 at the normal age of seven, after having learned to read and write at a petty school or at home with a tutor.⁴⁷ Barker has shown that Thomas Young was his tutor between 1618 and 1620. If Milton stayed out of school for this period, whether for ill health or other reason, Young would have taught him the normal course of study at St. Paul's School for the years he did not attend, including the reading and writing of Latin elegiac poetry, as Milton's *Fourth Elegy* to Young suggests; or more probably Young gave Milton special instruction to supplement the lessons which Milton was receiving regularly at the school. But however many masters Milton had at home, Young or others, all evidence attests that he was educated at St. Paul's School under Dr. Gil. Hence it is time we investigated this school and began to trace in some detail the kind of school it was, the masters who taught Milton when he was a pupil, and the lessons he learned.

⁴⁷ After completing this chapter I found confirmation of my conjectures of an early date for Milton's admission to St. Paul's School in Davis P. Harding, *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid* (Urbana, Ill., 1946), pp. 34-41.

3. *St. Paul's School*

LEST John Milton should seem to have received his grammar school education in a vacuum, beyond considerations of time and space, I shall endeavor to supply at least a sketch of a setting, by describing the school building itself, the churchyard in which it stood, the cathedral of St. Paul's, and the city of London as they most nearly affected the schoolboy Milton. The sketch must be very slight, for The Great Fire in 1666 destroyed Milton's house, the school, the cathedral, and every landmark which greeted his eyes on his daily walks to and from school. But in the absence of physical evidence I shall endeavor, at least, to present a picture based on the testimony of eyewitnesses and colored as little as may be by pleasant fiction and false surmise.

The best means for the reader to orient himself in the London of Milton's boyhood are the bird's-eye views shown in the plans drawn by Ralph Agas just about the time Milton's father first came to London in 1585.¹ In the view which is reproduced as end papers the reader can readily trace the route which Milton followed, as the most direct, from his father's house on the east side of Bread Street, three doors south of Cheapside, to St. Paul's School in the northeast corner of Paul's Churchyard. With an active imagination he can see in the northeast corner of the Churchyard "The small bird's-eye view of the building," which, to McDonnell, "bears out Strype's statement, in that the

¹ Published by the London Topographical Society, and reprinted by permission. (No. XVII, 1905). Stated as having been done circa 1560-1570. Michael F. J. McDonnell, *History of Paul's School*, (London, 1909), p. 67, dates the plans 1591. The plans of Wenceslaus Holler (1647), are handsomer engravings, but show changes in the cathedral which were not made before Milton went to Cambridge. I reproduce the northwest quarter of sheet 7 of the Agas plans and the southwest quarter of sheet 3.

school appears to have had a central building of one storey, while at each end houses of several storeys were adjoining." ²

The whole quiet drama of Milton's schooldays was centered in the buildings in the cathedral close, dominated by St. Paul's Cathedral itself, which dominated all London, the tower over the crossing rising 285 feet above the ground even without the lofty spire which had crowned it until destroyed by fire in 1561. The fabric of the great cathedral was in very bad repair and lean-to structures encroached amongst the buttresses. On March 26, 1620, when Milton was twelve years old, occurred a magnificent ceremony including a state procession of King James to St. Paul's to institute the restoration of the cathedral. A commission was appointed, money was raised, stones were cut, but little or nothing was done save the pulling down of an outbuilding belonging to Paul's School until Laud became Bishop of London in 1628.³ With all the talking and planning, Inigo Jones's baroque portals, shown in Holler's engravings after 1647, were not added until after Milton had left St. Paul's School for Cambridge.

The St. Paul's of Milton's schooldays is picturesquely shown in John Gipkin's painting of 1616.⁴ It shows the famous rose window which was clearly visible from the school, and most important of all it shows the notorious pigeons flying about the tower. It was these pigeons that gave the boys of St. Paul's School their name of "Paules Pigeons" as John Stow testified from his own memories as a youth: "The schollars of Paules, meeting with them of S. Anthonies, would call them Anthonie pigs, and they againe would

² McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, p. 67. This is a most valuable work, which gives a much fuller story of the school to and through Milton's day than I shall endeavor to present.

³ William Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1658), pp. 133 ff.; William Benham, *Old St. Paul's Cathedral* (with many illustrations, London, 1902), pp. 7, 64-76.

⁴ Benham, Plate 22. An engraving from this painting appears in Robert Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* (London, 1825), Vol. I.

call the other pigeons of Paules, because many pigeons were bred in Paules Church, and Saint Antonie was alwayes figured with a pigge following him." ⁵

While John Milton was a Pigeon of Paules, John Donne was Dean of the Cathedral (1621-1631) and John Tomkins was organist (1619-1638). This John Tomkins was associated with Milton's father, John Milton the elder, as a composer of tunes for Ravenscroft's *Whole Booke of Psalmes*,⁶ and there is no reason to imagine him a stranger to the Miltons, father and son.

The influence of this great cathedral, its clustered pillars, its pointed arches, its painted glass, its quiet cloisters, its music of organ and choir, has been recognized.⁷ There is no reason to associate with the parish church at Horton or the little chapel of Christ's College, Cambridge, the eloquent lines of *Il Penseroso*:

But let my due feet never fail,
To walk the studious Cloysters pale,
And love the high embowed Roof,
With antick Pillars massy proof,
And storied Windows richly dight,
Casting a dimm religious light.
There let the pealing Organ blow,
To the full voic'd Quire below

⁵ Stow, *A Survey of London, Conteyning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Modern estate, and description of that City, written in the year 1598 by Iohn Stow Citizen of London. Since by the same Author increased, with divers notes of Antiquity, and published in the yeare, 1603.* I quote from the Bridge-water copy in the Huntington Library, p. 75.

⁶ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes Evangelicall, and Songs Spiritual. Composed into 4 parts by sundry Authors. . . . Newly corrected and enlarged by Tho:Ravenscroft.* . . . London, 1621. The page following the title pages lists "The Names of the Authors which Composed the Tunes of the Psalmes into 4 parts." Besides the name of John Milton, the list includes the names of Thomas Tallis, John Douland, Thomas Morley, Gyles Farnaby (a relative of Thomas Farnaby the schoolmaster), and Thomas Tomkins, famous brother of John Tomkins, the organist. See E. Brennecke, Jr., *John Milton the Elder and His Music*, (New York, 1938), p. 98.

⁷ A. F. Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, III, 299.

In Service high, and Anthems cleer,
 As may with sweetness, through mine ear.
 Dissolve me into extasies,
 And bring all Heav'n before mine eyes.⁸

That Milton's reference to "studious Cloysters" especially refer to experiences as a schoolboy is suggested by Leach with the concurrence of McDonnell:

For the cloisters of St. Paul's were almost contiguous to the school; and the epithet "studious" suggests that at St. Paul's then, as at Winchester till within almost living memory, during the hot days of summer, the boys deserted the close-packed school for the cool and spacious cloisters, to do, or at least prepare, their lessons.⁹

Fuller gives an idea what "dimm religious light" meant in old St. Paul's when he said: "This is the only *Cathedral* in *Christendome* Dedicated solely to that Saint: Great the Pillars (little Legs would bowe under so big a body) and small the Windows thereof, Darknesse in those dayes being conceived to raise devotion, besides it made artificial Lights to appear with the more Solemnity."¹⁰

St. Paul's School, whether a new school founded by John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral about 1510,¹¹ or an old cathedral school reorganized and endowed by the Dean,¹² occupied in Milton's boyhood a stone building at the east end of St. Paul's Churchyard.¹³ This is the same building which Colet mentions in an ancient document in the possession of the Mercers' Company, made by Colet trustees of his endowment;

⁸ Columbia *Milton*, I, 45, ll. 155-166.

⁹ Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy," p. 299. McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, pp. 174-175, echoes Leach's words as well as his suggestion.

¹⁰ *A History of the Worthies of England*. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller (London, 1662), "London," p. 191.

¹¹ J. H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet* (new ed., London 1909), pp. 154-164.

¹² Leach, pp. 298-299, who persuasively documents this view in "St. Paul's School before Colet," *Archaeologia*, LXII, Pt. I, 191.

¹³ Robert Barlow Gardiner, *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School* . . . (London, 1884). Appendix K (pp. 454 ff.) gives a full documentation with ground plans of the second and third schools and a plausible conjecture of the ground plan of the first school and discussion of its interior and exterior.

I, John Colet . . . in the yere of our Lord God a thousand five hundred and eight, beganne to edifye in the est ende of the church-yerd of Paulis a scole-house of stone for children theryn to be tawght free to the nowmbre of an hundreth fyfty and three . . . in the year a thousand five hundreth twelft full accomplished and finyshed the same scole and mansion.¹⁴

The "mansion" was the masters' house adjoining to the north.

The size and location of the school buildings are further defined by Colet's will of 1514:

I also, the aforesaid John, do give and bequeath to the aforesaid wardens and commonality of the Mystery aforesaid [the Mercers Company] all that my grammar school and the chapel founded in the same, together with the house for the master and the other offices of the same school by me lately built and constructed upon my land lying near the wall of the churchyard of St. Paul's, London, at the east part thereof, to wit, between the tenement of Alice Cruce, widow, on the south part, and the tenement late in the tenure of Andrew Renne on the north part, containing in length, from south to north, one hundred and twenty-two feet of assize, and in breadth, from east to west, thirty and three feet of assize.¹⁵

It is explicit from Colet's words that the school building did not extend to the street at the east of the churchyard; nor did it extend to either the northeast nor the southeast corner of the yard. In the Agas map it extended north and south roughly as far as the words "Olde change," the one-story school building touching "Olde" and the higher master's house touching "change."

The earliest firsthand account of "The New School of Paul's" is given by Erasmus in an epistle to Justus Jonas shortly after Colet's death in 1519.

Upon the death of his father, when Colet inherited a good sum of money, lest his mind should become too worldly by the keeping of it, he constructed a new school, dedicated to the boy Jesus, a magnificent building, in St. Paul's Churchyard. He added thereto fine buildings as

¹⁴ Reprinted by McDonnell, p. 59, from the Report of Commissioners on Charities, 1820.

¹⁵ Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, p. 374.

dwellings for two school masters, to whom he assigned ample salaries so that they might teach gratuitously a predetermined number of boys. He divided the school into four rooms. The first room as one enters was for the religious instruction of the boys, for no boy is admitted who has not already been taught to read and write. The second is for those who are taught by the undermaster. The third is for those who are taught by the head master. These rooms of the school are separated one from the other by a curtain which may be drawn across or aside at pleasure. Over the headmaster's chair is an excellent picture of the boy Jesus, seated, in the attitude of one teaching, whom all the boys salute with a hymn as they enter and leave the school, and over it an image of God the Father saying, "Hear Ye Him"; these words were added at my suggestion. The fourth and last room is a chapel for divine services. In the whole school there is no corner nor recess, nor is there any dining room nor bed room. Each boy has his own place on the benches which rise gradually one above the other in regular gradations. Each class contains sixteen, and the boy who leads his class is distinguished by a kind of small desk of his own. They do not admit all boys as a matter of course, but choose those of natural talent and ability.¹⁶

The best evidence for the later days of Paul's School, before it was destroyed by the great fire, is given by John Strype in his edition of Stow's *London*.¹⁷ Strype's evidence is firsthand for such details as he observed as a schoolboy at St. Paul's between 1657 and 1661. Of the school he says:

The Schoole House is large and spacious, fronting the Street on the *East* of St. *Pauls* Cathedral. It consisteth of Eight *Classes* or Forms, in the first whereof Children learn their Rudiments; and so according to their Proficiency are advanced unto the other Forms till they rise to the Eighth. Whence, being commonly made perfect Gram-marians, good orators and Poets, well instructed in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, and sometime in other *Oriental* Languages, they remove to

¹⁶ I have based my translation on that of Samuel Knight, *The Life of Dr. John Colet*, . . . (London, 1724), pp. 110-112. T. W. Baldwin, *Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, (Urbana, Ill., 1944), Vol. II, Appendix III, discusses the seating arrangements rather elaborately. He believes there were 8 forms from the beginning and that all the forms were taught in the schoolroom from the beginning.

¹⁷ *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*: . . . By John Stow, . . . Corrected, Improved, and very much Enlarged by John Strype (London, 1720), I, 163-169.

the Universities. . . . The School is goverened and taught by two Masters, *viz.* an High Master, and a Surmaster, and a Chaplain: whose customary Office was to read the *Latin* Prayers in the School (framed for the peculiar use thereof) and to instruct the Children of the two first Forms in the Elements of the *Latin* Tongue, and also in the Catechism and Christian Manners; for which there is a Room called the *Vestibulum*, being the Anti-room to the School, where the Youth are to be initiated into the Grounds and Principles of Christian Knowledge, as a good and proper Introduction to other Human Learning. The pious Founder dedicated this his School to the *Child* JESUS, (who sat among the Doctors at Twelve Years old) as the great and compassionate Patron of the Children here to be educated. . . .

The Founder delighted in Inscriptions and Mottoes, which he appointed to be set up in several Parts and Places of the School, as short and pithy Intimations of his Mind and Intentions, which were all there remaining before the great Fire. Over the Windows on the Outside toward the Street were these Words ingraven in great Capital Letters SCHOLA CATECHIZATIONIS PUERORUM IN CHRISTI OPT. MAX. FIDE ET BONIS LITERIS. Over the School Door, INGREDERE UT PROFICIAS. Upon each Window on the Inside were to be read these Words painted on the Glass, AUT DOCE, AUT DISCE, AUT DISCEDE, suggesting both to Scholar and Teacher their Duty or Doom, which I remember the upper Master, in my Time, used often to inculcate upon such Scholars, as were idle and negligent: *Either Learn or be gone.*

In the Vestibulum, which was the Antichamber to the School Room, was this Inscription in Capitals upon the Wall, shewing for what End and Purpose this Apartment was intended, HOC VESTIBULO CATECHIZENTUR PUERI IN FIDE, MORIBUSQUE CHRISTIANIS, NEQUE NON PRIMIS GRAMMATICES RUDIMENTIS INSTITUANTUR, PRIUSQUAM AD PROXIMAM HUIUS SCHOLAE CLASSEM ADMITTANTUR. In another Place of this *Vestibulum* was Ingraven, PUERITIAE CHRISTIANAE JOH. COLET DEC. Scti. PAULI HANC SCHOLAM POSUIT: Denoting how qualified, (*viz.* with Christian Knowledge and Manners) it was the Founders Will those should be, that were to be scholars here. . . .

In the School Room over the Door was this Inscription PUERI IN HAC SCHOLA GRATIS ERUDIENDI C.L.III. TANTUM, AD NUMERUM SEDIUM. . . .

At the upper end of the School, facing to the Door, was a decent *Cathedra*, or Chair placed, somewhat advanced, for the high Master to sit in, when he pleased, and to teach and dictate there. And over it was a lively *Effigies*, (and of exquisite Art) of the head of Dr. Colet, cut (as it seemed) either in Stone or Wood; and over the Head in Capitals,

DEO OPT. MAX. TRINO ET UNI JOANNES COLETUS DEC Scti. PAULI
LONDIN. HANC SCHOLAM POSUIT. . . .

But this Figure was destroyed with the School in the Great Fire; yet was afterwards found in the Rubbish by a curious Man, and Searcher into the City Antiquities, who observed (and so told me) that it was Cast and Hollow, by a curious Art now lost.

Writing of the new school which was built in 1670 to replace Milton's old school, Knight states in 1724:

Over the Master's Seat is the Bust of the Founder, Dean *Colet*, (where the Image of the Child Jesus was anciently) of exquisite Art, the same which was plac'd there before the Fire in 1666, found in the Rubbish afterwards by a curious Man in the City-Antiquities, who observ'd it was cast, an hollow, the plate whereof you have here.¹⁸

The image of the Child Jesus, as savoring of idolatry and Popish superstition, had been removed before Milton's day, as the accounts for 1561-1562 record, "Paid for taking away the pictur out of the Scole where the Master sayeth prayers, 8*d*." ¹⁹ Hence we may safely conjecture that the durable bust of Colet the Founder, not the image of Jesus the Patron, was within daily view of Milton during his school days. The removal of the picture of the Child Jesus, however, seems to have been the only noteworthy change between 1519, when Erasmus wrote, and the fire in 1666, unless omission of mention of the curtain which could be drawn between the High Master's room and the Undermaster's room indicates that the curtain had been removed for good. Hoole, in 1660, recommends separate rooms as a desirable innovation; Farnaby in his school in Cripplegate in Milton's own time, is said to have been the first to have such an arrangement.²⁰

The building Milton knew was replaced by a second school building which was used from 1671 to 1823. Strype says it was "built up again much after the same Manner and Pro-

¹⁸ Knight, *Life of Colet*, p. 435. The plate faces p. 435.

¹⁹ McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, p. 114.

²⁰ J. H. Brown, *Elizabethan Schooldays* (Oxford, 1933), p. 19.

portion as it was before.”²¹ As there is no picture of Milton's schoolroom, I present in the frontispiece an engraving which shows the interior of the schoolroom in the second school. This gives, I am sure, a very fair idea of the room Milton knew. It has a family resemblance to almost all the schoolrooms shown in Ackermann,²² and hence is quite typical of English schoolrooms in the better schools for centuries. In this engraving the skylight is a new feature not present in Milton's schoolroom, but the benches or forms for the boys “rise gradually one above another in regular gradations,” just as they were described by Erasmus. There are no desks for the boys. Desks first appear in the third building which housed the school and are shown in an engraving of 1876.²³

On the basis of the evidence, Gardiner conjectures that in Milton's school,

Judging from the Second School, there are not likely to have been more than three tiers of boys . . . and supposing that the School was seated on both sides, we have 25 boys a row, requiring about 45 feet; to this we must add 10 feet at least for gangways, and we get a school of about 60 feet, leaving 60 feet to divide between the high master's house and the chapel.²⁴

Seated on his assigned bench with the other boys of his class in this schoolroom Milton got his lessons, scuffled his feet, and whispered to his neighbors for six or more years of his childhood. This was the physical setting for his schooling. Our next step is to set the machinery in motion, to fill the room with boys, to set masters over them, to permit the *ludus literarius* to function. And so for a glance at the rules of the game.

The basic rules for the school are declared in Colet's *Statutes*, which the founder put into the hands of Lily, the

²¹ Stow, *A Survey*, ed. (1754), I, 186.

²² Rudolph Ackermann, *History of the Colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster* (London, 1816). The engraving of the schoolroom in the second St. Paul's School was made in 1816 for Ackermann.

²³ McDonnell, cut facing p. 406.

²⁴ Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, pp. 455-456.

first High Master, in 1518. We may be assured that these statutes were still in force and observed during Milton's school days one hundred years later, save as they were amended by the official action of the Wardens of the Mercers' Company. Some provisions were thus changed in 1602. Many of the provisions were still in force late in the nineteenth century. I shall quote only those statutes which affected Milton while he was in school, the financial responsibilities and the stipends of the masters being beyond his horizon.

The statutes specified a High Master, a Surmaster (or submaster) and a Chaplain to teach the 153 boys. The High Master was to be "A man hoole in body honest and vertuose and lernyd in the good and clene laten litterature and also in greke yf suyche may be gotten."²⁵ Dr. Alexander Gil, Milton's High Master, was an excellent scholar in the ancient languages, as we shall see. The Surmaster in Milton's day was William Sound, of whom almost nothing is known. In addition to the Master and Surmaster, Colet specified a priest as chaplain to "singe masse in the Chapell of the Scole . . . also learne or yf he be lerned help to teche in the scole." As amended by the Mercers in 1602 the ordinances state, "Wee doe nowe ordeine and establish that there shalbe from hensfourth an under usher instead of the said preist, who shall teach in the schole by the direction of the hyghe maister."²⁶ Alexander Gil, Jr., son of the High Master, was appointed Under Usher in 1621 and became a close friend of Milton's.

I shall quote fully from the most interesting section of the statutes which deals with the daily life and conduct of the children, with occasional comment:

"There shalbe taught in the scole Children of all nacions

²⁵ The complete statutes are given by Gardiner, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, and by Lupton, *Life of Colet*, Appendix A. I quote from Lupton.

²⁶ Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, p. 389.

and countres indifferently to the number of a cliij acording to the noumber of the Setys in the scole." In the Proheme to the *Accidence* Colet says, "Londoners specyally." In practice, to be sure, most of the boys were Londoners who lived at home, as Milton did, for St. Paul's was not a boarding school.

"The Maister shall admit these chyl dren as they be offer-ide fro tyme to tyme, but first se that they canne the cathe-chy zon, and also that he can rede and wryte competently, elles let him not be admittid in no wyse." The Articles of Admission to St. Paul's School, which appeared in Colet's *Accidence*, are more specific: "If your chylde can rede & wryte latyn & englishe sufficiently, soo that he be able to rede & wryte his owne lessons, than he shall be admytted into the schole for a scholar." ²⁷ The boys would secure their elementary schooling in preparation for grammar school from "pettie" school instruction or from tutors at home as Milton may have done.²⁸

"A Chylde at the ffirst admission onys for ever shall pay iiij ^a. for wrytyng of his name. This mony of the admissions shall the pore Scoler have that swepith the scole, and kepith the scole clene." Some of the masters seem to have devised little ways of augmenting their income by collecting additional fees, for in 1602 an amendment read most emphatically:

This ordynance shalbe expounded that everie childe that shalbe admitted to be taught in the said schole shall have his teachinge free duringe all the tyme of his contynuance there untill his departure, without anie further charge to be ymposed upon him or his freinds by the highe maister, surmaister, and usher, or any of them, over and above iiij^a. at his first admission to the poore scholer or poore man of the schole as aforesaid.²⁹

²⁷ Lupton, *Life of Colet*, Appendix B, p. 285.

²⁸ For pettie schools see Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, England, 1908), Chap. VIII, and T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Petty School*, 1943.

²⁹ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

St. Paul's was not a poor boys' school, for even the one poor scholar to be paid according to Colet's statutes seems to have given place to a poor man who was paid the four pence to keep the school clean.

"The Children shall come unto scole in the Morning at vij of the Clok boith wynter and somer and tary ther untill a xi and retourne ageyn at one of the cloke and departe at v." That a school day of eight hours—7 to 11 and 1 to 5—was considered arduous by the masters, at least, is clear from the fact that when the Mercers iterated these hours in the Amendment of 1602 they added: "Wee doe ordeyne, that the highe maister, surmaister, and usher shalbe tied to the same howers." But the hours were easier to the masters than for Milton and the other boys, for the masters lived in the school while the boys lived at home and had to get up earlier to walk to the school, some of them greater distances than Milton.

Besides the statute defining the duties of the Chaplain, Colet made three specifications for the religious observances of the children. They were to hear the Boy Bishop's sermon on Childermas Day in the cathedral; they should march in general processions, soberly, and say seven psalms and the litany; and "thryse in the daye prostrate they shall say the prayers withe due tract and pawsyng, as they be conteyned in a table in the scole, that is to say in the mornyng and at none and at evenyng."

In 1602 the Mercers dealt with such of these requirements as seemed to smell of Popery in the following amendment: "Wee doe further ordeyne, that noe other prayers or ceremonies shalbe used in the schole, but suche only as the lawes and statutes of this realme of Englande for the tyme beinge doe or shall permitt and allowe."

Hence we can assure ourselves that Milton did not have to do with sermons by boy bishops, nor walk in general processions chanting the litany, nor prostrate himself thrice a day as he joined the other boys at prayers, nor recite Colet's

prayer to the Blessed Virgin, nor gaze upon the painting of the Boy Jesus Teaching, which was replaced by the bust of Colet in 1615. But he did join daily in religious ceremonies and prayers permitted by the laws of England. These included two prayers to the Boy Jesus, which are still used in St. Paul's School.

One of the prayers, attributed to Colet himself and printed in the 1527 edition of his *Aeditio*, is the *Oratiuncula ad puerum IESUM Scholae praesidem*.³⁰

The other prayer *ad puerum Iesum* still used at St. Paul's School was written by Erasmus and put into the mouth of Gaspar, the schoolboy in the Colloquy *Pietas Puerilis*.³¹ Both prayers follow in my translation.

A Little Prayer to the Boy Jesus

Sweet Jesus, my Lord, who, as a boy in the twelfth year of thine age didst dispute in the temple at Jerusalem among the doctors so that they all marveled with amazement at thy superexcellent wisdom, I petition thee that in this thy school, of which thou art protector and defender, wherein I am taught daily in letters and wisdom, that I may chiefly come to know thee, Jesus, who art thyself the true wisdom, till that through knowledge of thee I worship thee and imitate thee, and so in this brief life to walk in the path of thy teaching, following in thy footsteps, so that departing from this life I may through thy grace happily arrive at some part of that glory to which thou hast attained.

Gaspar's Prayer

We pray unto thee, Jesus Christ, who as a boy twelve years old, seated in the temple, taught the teachers themselves, to whom the voice of the Father, sent from heaven, granted authority to teach all men, saying: This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased: hear him; who art the perfection of all the eternal wisdom of the Father, deign to illuminate our minds so that we learn thoroughly the lessons of virtuous literature, and that we use them to thy glory, who liveth and

³⁰ Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 290. Lupton also quotes Colet's prayer, "Sancta Maria, virgo, & mater Iesu" from the *Aeditio*. This was dropped out of use at St. Paul's School after the Reformation.

³¹ *Opera*, I, 649, E. Also included in Erasmus, *Precationes* (*Opera*, V, 1209, D).

reigneth, with the Father and Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end.

The constant repetition of these prayers must have impressed the words and images indelibly on Milton's mind. The school prayers, as well as the second chapter of St. Luke, have influenced Milton in his famous picture of Jesus as a boy in *Paradise Regained*:

addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute,
As by that early action may be judg'd,
When slipping from thy Mothers eye thou went'st
Alone into the Temple; there was found
Among the gravest Rabbies disputant
On points and questions fitting *Moses* Chair,
Teaching not taught; the childhood shews the man,
As morning shews the day. (iv, 213-221)³²

After the establishment of the Reformed Religion in England, the provisions in Colet's statutes for religious education were superseded at St. Paul's School by the Amending Ordinances made by the Mercers' Company in 1602,³³ and in all England by the Canons promulgated by the Convocation in 1604. Just as these Ordinances and Canons may be assumed to codify existing custom, so may they be assumed to be in force long after Milton was a schoolboy. The relevant passage, in English translations, follows:

All schoolmasters shall thoroughly instruct their children in the catechism either in the longer version or in the shorter catechism heretofore published by public authority in Latin, or in English suitable to

³² S. H. Steadman, "Milton and a School Prayer," *Times Literary Supplement* (August, 1927), p. 548, says that in Milton's use of the words "dispute" and "disputant," and of "teaching not taught," there may be a conscious or unconscious reminiscence of his school days and the words "inter doctores illos sic disputasti" and "docuisti ipsos doctores" of the prayers. "There is nothing in St. Luke ii, 43-49, either in the Authorized Version or the Vulgate, to suggest directly such expression." Kathleen E. Hartwell, *Lactantius and Milton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), Appendix E, suggests that the prayers, which she quotes, have influenced Milton, but is unaware of the textual influence Steadman suggests.

³³ Quoted by Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, pp. 388-392.

children's capacity. And so often as a sermon is to be preached upon a holyday or festival within the parish wherein they teach, they shall conduct their pupils to the church wherein the said sermon is to be delivered, they shall take care that they remain there quietly and humbly, and, at some fitting time after their return from church, they shall call up the pupils, one by one, to examine them as to what they have learned from the said sermon. But upon other days, they shall instruct and educate them by means of texts drawn from Holy Scripture, such as seem fitting and especially useful for imbuing their minds with piety.³⁴

Another of Colet's statutes which affected Milton is less poetical than the one relating to worship but must have been much harder on his eyes. It is this: "In the scole in noo tyme in the yere they shall use talought Candill in noo wyse but allonly wexcandill at the cost of theyre ffrendes." To be sure wax candles are cleaner than tallow and do not smoke or smell so bad, and they cost the boy's friends and parents eight times as much as the tallow, but there were months on end in the winter when they burned in the schoolroom all day long. They form part of the picture of early days which we never should, but usually do, forget. "It only remains to add," says Gardiner, "that wax candles, according to the founder's ordinance, remained in use in the school till 1854, when gas chandeliers were put in."³⁵

Erasmus, in describing the building, pointed out that it afforded no rooms for eating and sleeping. Colet's statutes bear out that St. Paul's was not a boarding school, although Gil took at least one boarder in Milton's day.³⁶ The statutes also make very clear that breakfast was to be had at home: "Also I will thay bryng no mete nor drink nor botellis nor

³⁴ *Constitutiones sive Canones Ecclesiastici*, 1603-1604, No. 79. See J. W. Adamson, *Short History of Education* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 188.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 458.

³⁶ Entry under the date September 19, 1623, in the court minutes of the East India Company: "James Troughton . . . leaves a boy, his kinsman, George Jackson, with Alexander Gill, master of Powles school, to whom £8 per annum of Troughtons wages are to be paid." Quoted by McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, p. 160, from Cal. S.P., E. India, China, etc., 1622-1624. I have found nothing more about George Jackson; but Milton knew him without question.

use in the scole no brekefastys nor drinkingis in the tyme of lernyng in noo wyse, yf they nede drink let theme be provided in sum other place.”³⁷

“I will they use noo kokfighting nor ryding aboute of victory nor disputing at sent Bartilmews which is but folish babeling and losse of tyme.” The delights of cockfighting and riding to victory, denied Milton by statute, are fully described by Lupton,³⁸ who records that at other schools these sports were practiced long after Milton went to college. Perhaps the boys of Paul’s managed a little illegal cockfighting off the school premises. Certainly Colet’s statute did not put an end to the traditional disputes of the boys from various London schools on Bartholomew’s eve. Stow writes in 1598:

The arguing of the Schoole boyes about the principles of Grammer, hath beene continued even till our time: for I my selfe in my youth have yearely seene on the Eve of S. Bartholomew the Apostle, the schollers of divers Grammer schooles repayre unto the Churchyard of S. Bartholomew, the Priorie in Smithfield, where upon a banke boorded about under a tree, some one Scholler hath stepped up, and there hath apposed and answered, till he were by some better scholler overcome and put downe: and then the overcommer taking the place, did like as the first: and in the end the best apposers and answerers had rewards.

When the formal disputes were no longer carried out by boys from St. Paul’s and St. Anthony’s schools, the boys kept up the tradition by their mutual insults of “Anthonies Pigges” and “Paules Pigeons” as I have already indicated. The boys, continues Stow,

mindfull of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly in the open streete provoke one another with “Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare, placet”: and so proceeding from this to questions in

³⁷ The statutes also state “To theyr uryne they shall goo thereby to a place appointed.” Gardiner (p. 457) states, “There was a public privy situated at the NE angle of the Cathedral to which Paulines had access.”

³⁸ *Life of Colet*, pp. 173–175.

Grammar, they usually fall from words to blowes, with their Satchels full of bookes many times in great heaps that they troubled the streets and passengers.³⁹

Nothing is so conservative as schoolboy tradition, especially as concerns school rivalries. Milton may well have been mixed up in at least one street fracas.

The statute against "remedies" (special holidays) was better kept: "I will also they shall have noo remedies yff the Maister grantith eny remedies, he shall forfeitt xls tociens quociens Except the kyng or a archebisschopp or a bisshopp presente in his owne persone in the Scole desyre it." The 40 shilling fine would restrain most High Masters from granting extra holidays. The regular holidays, Sundays and Saints days, according to Colet's own computation, would add up to 153, leaving 212 working days—the equivalent of 43 five-day weeks of the modern school year. McDonnell is rather pleased that the statute against remedies is still obeyed. "On the occasion of the visit of the present King when Prince of Wales, his request for an extra week's holiday was refused on account of this statute. As it happened there were seven bishops present, and on the Prince's behalf each at once claimed his right to ask for a 'remedy,' and the week's holiday was therefore not lost."⁴⁰

When the Reformation reduced by about thirty the number of ecclesiastical red-letter days kept as holidays by the school, some relief was given the boys by the institution of additional weekly half-holidays. In the Mercers' minutes for July, 1573, the boys were given "license to play every Thursday afternoon so that one of every of the forms in the Upper School by turn one after the other first make an epistle to their Master for the same."⁴¹ So the afternoon of play had strings to it. It must be earned by an additional exercise in

³⁹ Stow, *London* (1603), pp. 74-75.

⁴⁰ McDonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 466, writing in 1909.

⁴¹ McDonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

the writing of suasory Latin epistles, a most powerful motivation for composition and a coöperative class project of the most progressive sort.

We can be assured that Colet's statutes as amended were in full force when Milton was a schoolboy at Paul's, and that, with very few lapses, they were lived up to by masters and boys. Likewise the tradition of play acting:

In carrying on the histrionic traditions of the school Gill once again followed the footsteps of his predecessor.

We read that on Quarter Day, 1617-18, "the scholars of Pawles made a play at the Mercers' Hall." On September 10, 1619, they acted at the Warden's feast at the same place, and under the year 1626-27 is the following entry: "Paid to the citty waites for Music, at the play that was acted by the Schollers, 5s." ⁴²

What the plays were I do not know but Milton would have known, since he was surely in school for the second. McDonnell surmises that it was Terence because Thomas Newman announces in his Englishing of *Andrea* and *Eunuch* (1627) that it is "Fitted for Schollers private action in their schools," and in the Epistle Dedicatorie begins, "To the Schollers of Paules Schoole T.N. wisheth increase in grace and learning. What I at first intended for mine owne employment to passe away spare time, and afterward purposed for your private exercise onely, is now made publique not by my free and voluntary election." Newman goes on to say that someone had stolen part of his translation and offered it for sale.⁴³ He says he has heard that Terence has previously been Englished "but because I never saw that English Author, and therefore know not how he hath carried it, I dare not shelter myself under such precedent." He does use Beza's edition as a precedent, which is used in French schools, "im-

⁴² McDonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 159. In *The Staple of Newes*, acted in 1625, Ben Jonson took a fling at St. Paul's School for the well known activities of the boys as actors in plays.

⁴³ *The Two First Comedies of Terence called Andria, and the Eunuch newly Englished by Thomas Newman. Fitted for Schollers Private action in their Schooles.* London . . . 1627. Huntington Library photostat from the British Museum copy.

printed in French on one side and in Latin on the other side of every leafe."

If schoolchildren were always quiet and well behaved in the schoolroom, there would be no need for the conduct books to remind the young to behave themselves. But the rules of the conduct books do help us to understand what the masters wanted the children to do as well as what the children frequently did not do. For instance Francis Hawkins, *Youths Behaviour*, among a number of rules of good conduct everywhere, has several items of interest to students of schoolroom life:

During the time thou should'st study, if thou be'st in the company of others, it is not fit to make a noise, or read so loud that thou be'st understood by others who study. Likewise it is misbeseeming to study, or read other bookes unseasonably, while the Master explicateth a lesson, as also to hinder thy fellows attentions. Hearing thy Master, or likewise the Preacher; wriggle not thy selfe, as seeming unable to containe thy selfe within thy skinne, making shew to be the knowing, and sufficient, to the misprice of others.⁴⁴

Of special interest to all Paulines was the code of manners and morals (the *Carmen de Moribus*) written by William Lily, first High Master, for his pupils and ever after printed in all copies of the Lily grammars. I append the rules of Paul's School as translated by William Haïne, in *Lilies Rules Construed*,⁴⁵ as a help to schoolboys.

Qui mihi construed.

SCHOOLMASTER'S PRECEPTS, OR A TREATISE IN VERSE OF WILLIAM LILY TO HIS SCHOLARS CONCERNING MANNERS.

Little youth who art my scholar, and desirest to be taught, come hither, conceive well these sayings in thy mind. Betimes in the morning

⁴⁴ *Youths Behaviour*; or, *Decency in Conversation amongst men. Composed in French by grave persons for the Use and benefit of their Youth. Now newly turned into English by Francis Hawkins.* The fourth edition, with the addition of Twenty six new precepts. London, 1646. This was the earliest edition in the British Museum, whence the Huntington photo comes.

⁴⁵ *Lilies Rules Construed*, . . . London, 1770, pp. 91-94. John Brinsley recommends "*Lillies rules construed*" as early as 1622, (*A Consolation for our Grammar Schools*, p. 60.)

leave thy bed, shake off sweet sleep. Humbly go into the church, and worship God. But first of all let thy face be washed and thy hands: let thy garments be clean, and thy hair combed. Be thou there avoiding idleness when my school shall call thee: have thou no excuse of long tarrying. When thou shalt see me thy master, salute me, and all thy school-fellows in order. And see that thou sit where I will thee to sit and stay in thy place unless thou beest commanded to go thence. And as every one is more excellent in the gift of learning, so he shall sit in a more excellent place. Let a penknife, quills, ink, paper, books be implements always ready for thy studies. If I shall propose to thee any thing [*dictabo*], thou shalt write it: but every thing rightly, and let no blot be or fault in thy writings. But thou shalt not commit thy Latins or verses to loose papers which it is meet to have written in books. Oftentimes repeat to thyself things read, and meditate on them often in thy mind. If thou doubttest, sometimes ask these, sometimes others. He that maketh doubt, he who asketh many questions, shall observe my precepts. He that doubteth of nothing getteth thereby no good. My child, learn, I pray thee, do not forget anything lest that a guilty conscience accuse thee of slothfulness. And be thou attentive; for what will it profit me to have taught if thou dost not print my words in sure memory? Nothing is so hard which diligence cannot overcome. Take pains and the glory of thy labour is obtained. For even as the earth brings forth neither flowers nor seeds unless it be very much tilled with continual labour of the hand; so a child, if he doth not often exercise his wit, doth lose both the time itself and withal the hope of his wit. Also there is an order always to be kept in speech, lest too much babbling offend me. Thou plying thy lesson shalt speak with a low voice; all the while that thou art saying with me thou shalt be loud with thy voice. And whatsoever thou repeatest to me, let them be learned at thy fingers ends, and thy book laid aside, rehearse every word. And let nobody prompt any word to thee asaying, which bringeth no small hurt to a child. If I demand anything, thou shalt endeavor to answer so that thou mayest deserve praise and commendation by thy answers. Thou shalt not be commended for too fast a tongue or too slow: the mean is a grace which to keep delighteth. And as often as thou speakest, be mindful that thou speakest in Latin and avoid barbarous words, as things very dangerous. Besides, teach thy fellows so often as they shall ask thee and bring forwards the ignorant to my desire. He who teacheth the unlearned, although he were most unlearned, may be better learned than the rest in a short time. But thou shalt not imitate foolish authors of barbarism, the exceeding great disgrace of the Latin tongue. Whereof none is so foolish, or so barbarous

in speech, whom as an author the barbarous multitude alloweth not. If thou wilt rightly know the laws of the grammar, if thou desirest to learn to speak very eloquently in thy speech, see thou learnest the most famous writings of ancient men and the authors which the better sort of Latinists teacheth. Sometimes Virgil wisheth to embrace thee, sometimes Terence himself, sometimes withal the work of Cicero wisheth thee. Whom he that hath not learned hath seen nothing but dreams and striveth to live in great ignorance. There are some boys whom it delighteth, having laid aside the study of commendable virtue, to spend their time in trifles. There are others who take pleasure to trouble their fellows with hands or feet or any other way. There is another who whilst he boasteth himself noble by blood, disalloweth parentage in others with unsavoury speeches. I would not have thee to follow so bad patterns of manners, lest in the end thou receive rewards worthy thy deeds. Thou shalt give or sell nothing: thou shalt change or buy nothing: thou shalt receive no profit by the loss of another. And moreover leave money, the enticements to evil, to others; nothing but things free from abuse become a child. Let noise, babbling, scoffings, lyes, thefts, scornful laughter be far from you, and fighting far off. Thou shalt speak nothing at all which is filthy or not honest. Thy tongue is the gate of life and of death too. Account it horrible wickedness to give evil words to any one, or to swear by the sacred titles of Almighty God. To conclude thou shalt keep all thy things and books and thou shalt bear them with thee as often as both thou goest and returnest. Avoid even the occasions whatsoever do make thee offensive, and wherein thou mayest displease me.

In view of these rules which Lily, first High Master of St. Paul's School, wrote for his pupils, Shakespeare's schoolboy gets a credible background in the customs of Tudor grammar schools:

And then the whining school-boy, with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like a snail
Unwillingly to school.

Milton, too, with satchel and shining morning face had to make school in time for "a Chapter of the Bible and set prayers in Latin every morning at 7 of the clock."⁴⁶ Whether or not he whined or crept unwillingly to school,

⁴⁶ Gale MS, quoted on p. 110.

surely when he got there, he saluted Dr. Gil, the High Master, and his school fellows. As a good Scholler he doubtless sat in a more excellent place, at least some of the time. His penknife and the quill pens he sharpened with it, his ink, paper, and books were in the satchel which he carried back and forth from his home on Bread Street to school, where there were no lockers or closets. Surviving specimens of his handwriting assure us that he wrote his exercises neatly. He must have been an active asker of questions when he was a boy, if we judge from his habits as a man. He was, we are sure, attentive, diligent, spoke in Latin (when he did not forget himself) and as a pupil teacher helped to teach the smaller boys. He said later, in *Areopagitica*, "I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist."⁴⁷ The words vibrate with angry resentment against the arrogance of some domineering older boy who heard him parse, construe, and recite memoriter from his Latin grammar as a boy in the Lower School at Paul's.⁴⁸ Without question he desired "to learn to speak very eloquently" and learned "the most famous writings of ancient men." "Thefts, lyes, and filthiness" are certainly out of character for the boy Milton, but "scoffings and scornful laughter" must have issued from his childish lips, only under the most extreme provocation I am sure, or Milton was not Milton when he sat on the benches at St. Paul's School. And I am very much afraid he was tempted, as most forward school children are, "to wriggle himself, making shew to be knowing."

In every grammar school in England Lily's *Carmen de Moribus* was construed in the first or second form and memorized by the little boys and read aloud. Latin authors did double duty—to teach the boys both pure Latin and clean morals. As Dean Colet put it in the *Prologus* to his *Statutes*

⁴⁷ Columbia *Milton*, IV, 326.

⁴⁸ See Brinsley, "Ad lectorem," in his translation of *Tullies Offices* (London, 1616). Also Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 152.

(1512), "I John Colett . . . desyring nothing more thanne Educacion and bringing upp chyl dren in good Maners and litterature . . . bylded a Scol e in the Estende of paulis Church." ⁴⁹

Milton's teachers, and hence Milton himself when he became a man, did not suffer from divided aims and morbid doubts about the purpose of education, however much they might differ about the best means of attaining their aims. Everyone knew that good morals were the morals taught by the Bible and by the noble pagans of Greece and Rome. Everyone knew that good literature was contained in the accepted canon of Greek and Latin classics as summed up by Quintilian. Everyone knew that man is born into the world with the taint of original sin, and that sinful little boys are naturally attracted neither to good manners and morals, nor to good literature. The teacher must work against the sinful and depraved nature of the boys if he is to succeed in bringing them up to good manners and good literature. Perverse notions of natural goodness had not corrupted educational theory. Milton's schoolmasters stood squarely on the experience of the human race, and so far as schoolboys were concerned saw no reason whatever to dispute the following axioms:

"The rod and correction give wisdom, but a child set at libertie maketh his mother ashamed. *Prov.* 29.15."

"Foolishness is tied in the heart of a child, but the rod of discipline shall drive it away. *Prov.* 22.15." ⁵⁰

The importance of the rod as an agency for promoting good manners and good literature also received sanction from the classics, for did not Horace, in his Epistle to Augustus, read in all grammar schools, say: "I am not crying down the poems of Livius—I would not doom to destruc-

⁴⁹ Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 271. See also Brinsley, *A Consolation*, p. 55, note 25.

⁵⁰ I quote these from the title page of William Kempe, *The Education of Children in learning: Declared by the Dignitie, Utilitie, and Method thereof*. Imprinted at London . . . 1588. Huntington Library copy.

tion verses which I remember hard-flogging Orbilius dictated to me as a boy.”⁵¹

William Kempe, in his *The Education of Children* (1588) presents the theory and practice of school discipline in Milton's day in an orderly and persuasive manner. The matter is so important for an understanding of Milton's schooldays that I shall quote Kempe rather fully, taking the liberty to substitute his own marginal translations from the classics for the Latin and Greek with which he adorns his pages:

All good orders that may further vertue & learning, the Master shall plainly declare, & straitly enioine unto his Schollers, causing them with all carefulnes to observe the same, by encouraging the good, and reforming the bad: for considering that the hope of honour and the fear of punishment are the principles of vertue, wisely did Solon place the preservation of the common wealth, and consequently of the School in reward and punishment.

The good then he shall encourage, first with words, praising them for their well doing, declaring what great commoditie ensueth thereof, and exhorting them to go forward. This praise of it self alone is such a bait to draw men to vertue, that the Apostles Peter and Paule toke it generally for all rewards of well doing: and Simonides saith, that for the desire of glorie, men will take any paine. Then he shall encourage them with rewards, for a good Schoolemaister is like a good Capitaine. “With gifts slack mindes provoketh, and sets before them prizes meet.” (Virg. *Æne.* 5), as sometimes to give trifles and gay things to such as shewe any token of forwardnes, diligence, and wittines, and to such as are victors in vertue, according to Horaces saying, “Cakebread and figs on schollers yong the maister doth bestow,” sometime to reward their painefull studie with libertie to recreate themselves by rest, honest disport, and walking abroad: for otherwise, as a bowe alwayes bent, at length will lose his strength, so the mind alwaies occupied in studie, will ware dull, and not be able to endure. Wherefore “Whatso hath not his rest by turne, it can no while endure, Rest strength renues, rest wearied lims with pleasant ease doth cure. *Æne.* 5.” . . . Let the unthrifty then, and those that do amisse, be reformed and corrected by admonition, rebuking and punishing, according to the quality of the fault. First therefore let him be admonished, then rebuked: herein the cause shall be thoroughly sifted, patiently heard, by equitie judged,

⁵¹ “memini quae plagosum mihi parvo Orbilius dictare.” *Epist.* 2. 1. 70.

and lastly of all, soundly reprov'd, that the conscience of the offender may be touch'd for the fault: if this will not serve, ad also punishment, sometime with the rod, which according to Salomons saying, driveth away foolishness, that is tied to the child's hart, and maketh him wise and learned: sometime punishment, by restraining that libertie of recreation, which otherwise should have bin graunted, and sometime by service of drudgerie, as may be the sweeping of the Schoole, &c. Generally of all these corrections, none may be differ'd when it is fit time, nor executed before due time. . . . These are the means to allure Schollars to vertue, and to drive them from vice, which, as Plutarch counselleth, must be used by turne, sometime the one, and sometime the other, after the fashion of a loving nurse, who when she hath made her child weepe for his fault, giveth him the teat to still him againe: which resembleth also the discretion of the cunning Physician, that tempereth his bitter medicines with sweete and pleasant drinke. But if any be so incorrigible, that neither the sweete rewards of vertue can leade him, nor the bitter correction of vice draw him to amend, let him be cut off from the Schoole, "Least that he should infect the sound," for he that dwelleth with a Creple, will learne to halt, and doubtlesse, many have perished with this poison.⁵²

Of recreations in Milton's school days we know very little indeed save that the "boys were given license to play every Thursday afternoon," as recorded in the Mercers' minutes. Ten years before Milton was born they played so roughly that they broke windows. In 1598, when Mulcaster was High Master, John Howes Verger of the Cathedral, complained to Bishop Bancroft against the "Maister of Powles Schoole and other schole maisters nere adjoyning to the Church, for suffering their Children to play in the Churchyard, whereby the windows are broken, and well-disposed people in the Church disquieted at the time of Divine Service."⁵³ Once the windows were repaired and perhaps paid for, if the boys were restrained during the hours of Divine Service, there is no reason to suppose that they did not continue to play in the churchyard. Colet's Statutes forbade cock-fighting but not other sports. Erasmus, who had supplied the educational philosophy for St. Paul's School and whose

⁵² The last three pages of Kempe.

⁵³ McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, p. 152.

Colloquies had been written as a textbook of Latin conversation, in his dialog *Childrens Play*, gives an amusing picture of boys seeking permission to play:

Cocles, Save thee Master.

Paedagogus, What would this trifling boy have?

Co. Save thee revered Master.

Pae. This is crafty policy. I am saluted enough already; Tell me what thou wilt have.

Co. All the company of thy Scholars intreat of thee leave to play.

Pae. You do nothing else but play, and that without leave.

Co. Thy wisdom knows that the strength of our wits is increased by moderate recreation, as thou hast taught us out of *Quintilian*.

Pae. Very well, how thou canst remember that which makes for thy purpose! ⁵⁴

As the colloquy continues the boys discuss all sorts of games which Erasmus approved for schoolboys: ball games, bowls, leapfrog, jumping, wrestling, and swimming. But did Milton ever play in Paul's Churchyard? Did he ever bounce a ball against the inviting wall of the cathedral or scourge a top with a whip? He recommends wrestling in *Of Education*. I am convinced that he did play with his school fellows and had a very good time doing it. Too many students of Milton have exaggerated the biographical strain of the lines from *Paradise Regained* which Cipriani inscribed under his engraving of Janssen's portrait of Milton as a boy of ten.

When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing, all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be publick good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things: (I, 201-206.)

These are dramatic lines which Milton, a poet aged 63, composed as holy meditations appropriate to the Son of God, Saviour of mankind, at the beginning of His vigil in the Wilderness. John Milton is not speaking of the boyhood of

⁵⁴ *The Colloquies; or, Familiar Discourses of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, Rendered into English.* . . . by H. M. Gent (London, 1671), pp. 32 ff.

John Milton, who, for all his seriousness, was a completely human boy.

There is plenty of evidence that a system of rewards and punishments was in force at St. Paul's School while Milton was a pupil. Certainly he was no less susceptible to praise and filled with a desire for fame in school than when he wrote in *Lycidas*:

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise . . .

To scorn delights, and live laborious dayes.

St. Paul's School like all other schools strove to rouse a spirit of emulation among the boys by a system of rewards for the forward. Erasmus tells us that Colet had planned to distinguish the boy who leads his class by giving him a kind of small desk of his own. In 1600 the Mercers' Records carry the item: "Given to Mulcaster to distribute among the boys at the apposition, 5s." ⁵⁵ Gardiner says, "Apparently this is the first Distribution of Prizes. The sum was increased to 10s. in 1601, and 20s. in 1602; and at this it remained till 1639-40; when it appears to cease." ⁵⁶ It would be strange indeed if Milton did not go out for such prizes as he was eligible to compete for; and stranger yet if he did not on appropriate occasions win a prize.

The greatest academic prize Milton could have hoped to receive—although he never won it—was an Exhibition to one of the Universities. An "Exhibitioner" received in Milton's day 10£ a year from the school funds, which supported him very comfortably at the university of his choice. The payments usually continued during good behavior for the six or seven years required for the recipient to attain both the A.B. and A.M. degrees, unless the Exhibitioner left the university earlier. As established by the Court of the Mercers in 1564 the Exhibitions were to be granted "That

⁵⁵ *NED* defines, Apposition: "a public disputation by scholars, a formal examination by question and answer, still applied to the Speech Day at St. Paul's School, London."

⁵⁶ Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, p. 12.

the aptest and meetest Scholars in Pauls School to be advanced and preferred to the University and specially Mercers Children . . . if any such may be found apt and meet." ⁵⁷

As St. Paul's School records of students do not exist for the period before the great fire, we must depend for the most part on college records for information about old Paulines.⁵⁸ Of Milton's classmates, or students in the form just ahead or behind Milton, there are college records of three who had Pauline Exhibitions. William Burton was Exhibitioner, 1624-30, at Queen's College, Oxford. He became Head Master of the Grammar School, Kingston-upon-Thames, and wrote many learned books. Henry Meryell (Myriell) was Exhibitioner, 1625-35, Benet College, Cambridge. He was incorporated B.D. at Oxford in 1642 and died the next year, age 33, author of popular devotional works. John Slater was Exhibitioner, 1625-33, at Caius College, Cambridge. John Milton received no Exhibition from St. Paul's, for he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, as a Pensioner, as did his classmate Robert Pory, who entered Christ's College when Milton did. Pory had a distinguished career as an Anglican clergyman. Nor did Milton's dear friend Charles Diodati receive an Exhibition, when he proceeded from St. Paul's School to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1621-22.

That Exhibitions were granted not only in recognition of high scholarship, but also because of the recipient's needs, is suggested by the fact that all three of Dr. Gil's sons enjoyed them: Alexander, Jr., 1612-19; George, 1615-26; Nathaniel, 1621-32. The higher education of these three boys, without financial assistance, would be a heavy burden to any schoolmaster then as now. Henry Meryell was listed as the son of a widow. William Griffith, Exhibitioner in 1629, had previously received financial aid as a poor scholar,

⁵⁷ McDonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁵⁸ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-37, lists the boys known to have studied under Dr. Gil.

as had John Man, Exhibitioner in 1630. In *Means to Remove Hirelings* (1659) Milton writes scornfully of "poor and pittiful boyes of no merit or promising hopes that might intitle them to the publick provision but thir povertie and the unjust favor of friends" who "have had the most of thir breeding both at schoole and universitie by schollarships, exhibitions and fellowships at the publick cost."⁵⁹ Perhaps as a schoolboy he had felt injured when he saw boys of inferior abilities and accomplishments honored by Exhibitions and himself passed over. His failure to receive an Exhibition is no proof at all that his academic standing was anything less than the highest. It indicates that his father was quite able to pay for his room and board at Christ's College. If his father had not been wealthy, John Milton would doubtless have received an Exhibition as Alexander Gil, Jr., did, and like Gil might have hastened to get a post as Under Usher in some good school instead of going to Horton, and later to Italy, to be a poet.

But recreation, praise, prizes at the Apposition, opportunities for Exhibitions to the Universities were not the only instrumentalities calculated to induce the reluctant schoolboy to keep quiet and get his lessons. Admonition, rebuking, and punishing, recommended by Kempe as medicine for the unthrifty, were certainly standard procedure in school discipline. We have the evidence that punishments at St. Paul's School, in Milton's day, were more severe than the tender-hearted Kempe would approve. The High Masters were as shrewd floggers as any. Of Mulcaster (Master of St. Paul's, 1596-1608) Thomas Fuller wrote:

Atropos might be perswaded to pity, as soon as he to pardon, where he found just fault. The prayers of cockering Mothers prevailed with him as much as the requests of indulgent Fathers, rather increasing then mitigating his severity on their offending child.

In a word, he was *Plagosus Orbilius*, though it may be truly said (and safely for one out of his School) that others have taught as much

⁵⁹ Columbia *Milton*, VI, 91-92.

learning with fewer lashes. Yet his sharpness was the better endured, because unpartially, and many excellent Scholars were bred under him, whereof Bishop *Andrews* was most remarkable.⁶⁰

Alexander Gil, High Master when Milton was a Paules Pigeon, succeeded to the Mastership and Mulcaster's reputation as a flogging master in 1608. "Dr. Gil, the father," says Aubrey, "was a very ingeniose person, as may appear from his writings. Notwithstanding he had moodes and humours, particularly his whipping fits:—

As Paedants out of the schoole-boies breeches
doe clawe and curry their owne itches, *Hudibras*." ⁶¹

I shall not endeavor to retail all the stories about Gil's whippings. Suffice it there are a number. Alexander Gil, Jr., who succeeded his father as High Master in 1635, had an equally notorious reputation as a flogger. His excessive severity and violence towards two boys, who appealed against him to the Mercers, led to his displacement as High Master.⁶² That when he was a schoolmaster Milton himself employed corporal punishment is attested to by Aubrey's statement: "His first wife . . . often-times heard his Nephews beaten and cry." ⁶³ Since Edward Phillips, one of the nephews, was one of Aubrey's most reliable informants, it may be taken as a fact that Milton laid the birch on the two boys when they were his pupils. But this fact, taken in its historical context of grammar school custom, does not at all suggest that Milton was excessively severe or violent. That Milton approved of corporal punishment for boys in grammar school is clear from several well-known passages from his prose works. In two passages he objects to subjecting grown men to treatment which would be appropriate enough in the schoolroom; in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Di-*

⁶⁰ Fuller, *A History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662). Westmerland, 140. Edmund Spenser was his pupil while Mulcaster was Master at Merchant Taylors' School.

⁶¹ *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, I, 263.

⁶² McDonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁶³ Darbyshire, *Early Lives of Milton*, p. 14.

vorce (1643), he wrote: "What discipline is this . . . to nourish violent affections in youth, by coking and wanton indulgences, and to chastise them in mature age with a boyish rod of correction" ⁶⁴ and in *Areopagitica*: "What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular, to come under the fescu of an *Imprimatur*? if serious and elaborat writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar lad under his Pedagogue must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a . . . licencer." ⁶⁵

But when he gets thoroughly angry at Salmasius he is quite ready to give him a good dose of schoolboy punishment: "If I had leisure, or it were worth the trouble, I could reckon up so many barbarisms of yours in this one book that if you were to be whipped for them as you deserve, all schoolboys' ferules must surely be broken upon you." ⁶⁶

Aubrey informs us that Milton's tutor at Cambridge whipped him. As a grown-up college man of sixteen Milton might well bitterly resent such treatment, if, indeed, he did receive it. But if he felt the smart of ferule or birch as a schoolboy, as undoubtedly he did, he accepted it in good part as an inevitable aspect of grammar school education—even the grammar school education of a poet. Did not Horace write with good-natured affection of his flogging master, Orbilius?

Although it has been moved from Paul's Churchyard to a new building in West Kensington, St. Paul's School has preserved many features which were familiar to John Milton when he sat under the ferula of Dr. Gil. My young friend John Anthony Scott, sometime foundation scholar at St. Paul's School, informs me that the durable bust of Colet still looks down on the boys, the *precamur* prayer composed by Erasmus for the school is still said every day, the boys are not allowed to bring food into the school, the statute against remedies is still enforced, Latin mottoes still adorn

⁶⁴ *Columbia Milton*, III, 507.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 324.

⁶⁶ *The First Defence* (1651), *Columbia Milton*, VII, 433.

the walls of the hall, and the Surmaster may storm into the room where he teaches the Eighth Form on the Classics Side, and pointing to the words painted on the glass of the window, AUT DOCE, AUT DISCE, AUT DISCEDE, let the boys know in no uncertain terms, "Either learn or be gone." The masters still inflict corporal punishment on idle and negligent boys, and the most serious offenders are brought to the High Master for a more ceremonial castigation with the rod of correction. St. Paul's School has succeeded in many ways in being answerable to the revelation of the Apostle to the Thessalonians, "Hold fast that which is good."

4. *Milton's Schoolmasters*

AS A SCHOOLBOY at St. Paul's, Milton knew four teachers: Alexander Gil and his son Alexander, William Sound, and Oliver Smythe. All his school days Alexander Gil was High Master and William Sound was Surmaster. The Under Usher was first Oliver Smythe and later Alexander Gil, Jr. Of these the most influential were the Gils, father and son. Oliver Smythe was Under Usher from 1615 until 1621, when he was succeeded by Alexander Gil the younger. Hence Milton was taught for a few years in the lower forms by Smythe, of whom nothing now survives beyond the formal records of the school. Milton would have been promoted from the lower forms to the middle forms taught by Sound before young Gil came into the school as Under Usher. It is most unlikely that Milton was ever in a form under the direct instruction of young Gil. Which makes the warm personal friendship which grew up between the two the more understandable.¹

Milton never mentions William Sound, the Surmaster who taught his form for several years at least. Sound became Surmaster upon the death of James Parker, before Michaelmas, 1603, and served under three High Masters for a period of thirty-four years over all. Under Mulcaster he served from 1603 to 1608. Under the elder Gil he served from 1608 to 1635. And under the younger Gil he served until his own death on February 21, 1637. His widow Mary continued to receive an allowance from the Mercers' Com-

¹ Before I proceed with my account of the Gils, I should comment on the spelling of their name. The Gils, father and son, uniformly spell it Gil, with one "l." Almost uniformly other people spell it Gill with two "l's." Hence the searcher of card catalogs and other aids to scholarship must look up both spellings. I have chosen to use the spelling Gil, since the Gils preferred to spell their name thus

pany until 1659; and his daughter, Sarah Hide (widow), received grants of money in 1671 and 1672.² His name is mentioned in the satiric verses, *Gill upon Gill*, which we shall consider in due course, and his autograph is preserved in a copy of Sir Thomas Chaloner's *De Republica Anglorum instauranda* (1579), still preserved in the library of St. Paul's School.³ William Sound must have had some influence on Milton, but what it was we can only conjecture. His long tenure as Surmaster under three such strong and diverse High Masters as Mulcaster and the Gils suggests that he was a quiet man, a trustworthy Latin scholar, and a skilful and faithful teacher. He undoubtedly contributed in no small measure to Milton's equipment as a writer of Latin prose and verse, even if his contribution to the development of Milton's personality may have been slight.

John Milton as a schoolboy at St. Paul's School was peculiarly fortunate in being associated from his tenth to his sixteenth year with such intellectually alert and scholarly men as his schoolmasters the Gils. Both father and son were, of course, expert Latinists and commanded an idiomatic Latin style, clear, vigorous and not seldom witty. They were both competent Grecians and sufficiently good Hebraists to introduce the boys in the Eighth Form to the language of the Psalms.

Alexander Gil the elder wrote two distinguished works in prose: *Logonomia Anglica* in Latin and *The Sacred Philosophy of the Holy Scripture* in English. *Logonomia Anglica* was published in 1619 and reissued with many corrections in 1621, both editions appearing while John Milton was his pupil. *Logonomia* shows Dr. Gil as a versatile and independent linguistic scholar, a phonetician, grammarian, logician, and prosodist whose views are still both interesting and instructive—at least to other linguistic scholars. Masson

² R. B. Gardiner, *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School* (London, 1884), pp. 29, 32, 38.

³ M. F. J. McDonnell, *A History of St. Paul's School* (London, 1909), p. 130.

long since pointed out that Milton could not fail to have been influenced by Gil's enthusiasm for the English language and his practice of illustrating figures of speech and metrical patterns with full examples from contemporary English poets, especially from Spenser.

The Sacred Philosophy of the Holy Scripture (1635), akin to Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* in spirit and method, is a reasoned defense of the Creed against Jews, Turks, and unbelievers. It refutes by the rule of reason as well as by the authority of Scriptures more heresies than John Milton in his maturity ever toyed with. Gil started this monument of rational Anglican theology ⁴ in 1625, but as a result of many years of reading, meditating, and note taking. Gil would have been an inhuman schoolmaster indeed if he did not talk to the boys from time to time of what so occupied his thoughts. Thus Milton from childhood was exposed to a philosophy of rationalism in matters human and divine. His maturity shows that he did not fight against this influence. As Douglas Bush characterizes him, "Alexander Gil carried Christian rationalism to the extreme limits of orthodoxy, limits which his quondam pupil Milton was to overstep." ⁵

Alexander Gil the younger was distinguished for his verse rather than for his prose, especially for his Latin poems, many of which were collected in *IIAPEPTA, Sive Poetici Conatus* (1632). Indeed Anthony à Wood states that he was "accounted one of the best Latin poets in the nation." ⁶ A number of his poems circulated in manuscript, some of which are known today and others remain to be hunted out and

⁴ Gil's theological position was not unlike those of Hooker and Andrews. (See Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660*, Oxford, 1938 p. 66.) If the Gils, father and son, had been strong Puritans like John Brinsley, "not conformable wholly to the ceremonies of the Church of England," they like him might well have been "enforced from keeping school, being persecuted by the Bishop's officers." The quotations are from William Lilly, the astrologer's, *History of his Life and Times* (1715), pp. 5-6.

⁵ Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1945), p. 321.

⁶ *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (1815), III, 42-43.

identified. The younger Gil's interest in poetry and his no mean ability as a poet undoubtedly gave great aid and encouragement to our greater poet during his apprenticeship in poetry while he was a schoolboy as well as for many years after. The Latin letters Milton wrote Gil in 1628 and in 1634 are explicit testimony to the high value he set on Gil as a poet and as a helpful critic of his own poems even after the performance of *Comus*.⁷

The first letter, dated May 20, 1628, thanks Gil for sending his "truly great verses," and continues with a rhetorical flourish, "Truly I do not know whether to congratulate Henry of Nassau more for the capture of the city, or for your poem."⁸ On July 2, of the same year, Milton writes Gil again, inclosing a poem he had composed for the Commencement exercises.

This poem, committed to type, I have sent to you whom I know to be the severest of critics in matters poetical and the candidest critic of my own poems. If in return you think me worthy to receive poems of yours, certainly no one will be more delighted by them though I admit there be those who may be sounder judges of their excellence. Indeed as often as I recall your frequent conversations with me (which even in this Athens, even in this University, I long for and miss) I think at once and not without sorrow how many benefits my absence from you has defrauded me of. For I have never departed from you without manifest increase and growth in my knowledge of humane letters.⁹

And he concludes with a sad comment on the preoccupation with Theology at the University which interferes so much with his own preoccupation with Literature.

⁷ Performed Sept. 29, 1634. The last letter to Gil is dated Dec. 4, 1634.

⁸ *Epist.* 2, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 6-8. Since no identified verse of Gil's celebrates the capture of a city by Henry before 1628, Eugenia Chifos, "Milton's Letter to Gill, May 20, 1628," *Modern Language Notes*, XLI (January, 1947), 37-39, plausibly conjectures that Milton's letter was written in 1630 (instead of 1628) and refers to Gil's *In Sylvam-Ducis*, which celebrates the capture of Hertogenbosch on September 14, 1629. This epideictic masterpiece is almost worthy of Milton's hyperboles. It appeared in Gil's ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ, (1632) p. 36.

⁹ *Epist.* 3, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 10, 12. This poem was probably *Natura non pati senium* (*Columbia Milton*, I, 260, and I, 578, note). Also Walter Mac Kellar, *The Latin Poems of John Milton* (New Haven, Conn., 1930), p. 49.

The last of the surviving letters to Gil, dated December 4, 1634, also turns on their common interest in the writing of poetry. Gil has sent some "sprightly and elegant Hendecasyllabics," and in return, as a repayment of the favor, Milton incloses an adaptation in Greek heroic verse of an ode by a noble poet unnamed.¹⁰ Milton adds, "Should you come upon anything in it which does not come up to your accustomed opinion of our verses, understand that this is the first and only thing I have composed in Greek since I left your school, having, as you know, more willingly written in Latin and in English." And Milton goes on to make an appointment to meet Gil Monday in London at the booksellers,¹¹ in all likelihood the booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard near St. Paul's School, where, thirteen years before when Gil first came in 1621 to teach in his father's school, they had first met. Their friendship continued as long as Gil lived.

After this summary account of the Gils, of their activities and publications in so far as they may have influenced Milton while he was a schoolboy, I shall proceed to a fuller account of their lives and of their publications in an effort to make as clear as possible what manner of men they were who dominated the school in which Milton spent so many formative years, what attitudes they had toward life and letters, what ideals, prejudices, and crotchets characterized them, what professional literary and rhetorical knowledge furnished their minds.

ALEXANDER GIL, SR.

Alexander Gil, High Master of St. Paul's School while John Milton was a schoolboy, was born February 27, 1564. He received the A.B. from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1586 and the A.M. 1589.¹² In 1608, according to Wood,

¹⁰ Probably the 114th Psalm, Milton's Greek version of which is printed in *Columbia Milton*, I, 278.

¹¹ *Epist.* 5, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 14, 16.

¹² R. B. Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, p. 32. Anthony à Wood's dates for his degrees are inaccurate.

he became the chief master of S. Paul's school within the city of London, in the place of Rich. Mulcaster, was esteemed by most persons to be a learned man, a noted Latinist, critic, and divine, and also to have such an excellent way of training up youth, that none in his time went beyond him. Whence 'twas, that many noted persons in church and state did esteem it the greatest of their happiness, that they had been educated under him.¹³

Milton never mentions the elder Gil by name, but we can only hope that his silence is an indication of his happiness. When Milton left the school Gil was sixty; he was seventy when he died November 17, 1635, in his house in St. Paul's Churchyard, part of the original building of St. Paul's School, built by Dean Colet in 1512.

LOGONOMIA ANGLICA

The editors of Milton's *Uncollected Writings* for the Columbia edition, while listing the books Milton owned, add, "One more book Milton must have owned, . . . although Milton's copy is not known. This is the textbook used at St. Paul's School while Milton was there, Alexander Gil's *Logonomia Anglica*." ¹⁴ I feel quite sure that Milton would own a copy of his High Master's new book, and that all students of Milton's school days from Masson to Leach ¹⁵ are correct in stating that he was influenced by it, but there is no evidence for its use as a textbook in the school. It was not prepared to teach English to English boys. That was not done in an English grammar school. It was planned to teach English to those who did not speak the language. Brinsley, in his *A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles* (1622), recommends it "For strangers, who understand the Latine tongue, at least in some sort, and would learne our tongue themselves, or would teach it unto others publicly or privately." ¹⁶

¹³ *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 598.

¹⁴ *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 656.

¹⁵ Masson, *Life of Milton*, I, 79; Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," *Proceedings of The British Academy*, III, 301.

¹⁶ *A Consolation*, p. 77 (entered Oct. 30, 1621. A facsimile reprint, edited with an introduction by Thomas C. Pollock, was issued in New York, 1943).

The *Logonomia Anglica*, as I have said, survives in two editions.¹⁷ It is dedicated to King James in an *Epistola Dedicatoria* which praises the English language even more than England's sovereign.¹⁸ The second edition, though less handsome than the first, has corrected many typographical errors which foul the first, and corrects many of its own errors with a page of Errata. It is this second edition which Otto L. Jiriczek followed in his exceedingly valuable diplomatic edition of 1903,¹⁹ which records his careful collation of readings from the second edition with the authoritative copy of the first edition, corrected by Gil himself and presented to the Bodleian *ex dono auctoris*.²⁰

In his Preface, Gil shows himself to be an enthusiastic upholder of all things Anglo-Saxon. Indeed his lively appreciation of the native elements in English led him to a strong prejudice against foreign elements in the English vocabulary, especially Latin and French. This prejudice carried him so far that he condemned Geoffrey Chaucer "of unlucky omen" for having "made his poetry famous by the use of French and Latin words."²¹ He sneers at "ynkhorne termes" quite

¹⁷ *Logonomia/Anglica./Qua Gentis sermo faci/lius addiscitur./Conscripta ab Alexandro Gil/Paulinae Scholae Magistro/Primario./Londini/Excudit Iohannes Beale./1619.*

Logonomia/Anglica./Qua Gentis sermo facilius/addiscitur:/Conscripta ab Alexandro Gil,/Paulinae Scholae Magistro/Primario./Secundò edita, paulò correctior, sed ad usum/communem accommodatior/Londini,/Excudit Iohannes Beale./Anno M.D.C.XXI.

¹⁸ The Huntington Library has a handsome large paper copy of the first edition with the initials of James. Anglo-Saxon thorn has been made by hand, inking a tail on the top of lower case o.

¹⁹ *Alexander Gill's Logonomia Anglica. Nach der Ausgabe von 1621 diplomatisch herausgegeben von Otto L. Jiriczek* ("Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte," Vol. XC; Strassburg, 1903).

²⁰ The inscription reads: *Biblioth.Bodleinae Oxon./Ex dono Auctoris in Artib. M^{ri},et olim Coll:/ Corporis Christi alumni./ 16^o Calendas Martij./ A^o/ 1619^o.* Jiriczek discusses the literary importance of *Logonomia* in his "Studien über Alexander Gill," *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, hersgb. von Max Koch, II (1902), 129-145. See H. Kökeritz (*Studia Neophilologica* XI, 1938-39).

²¹ P. x. On Gil's plea for the English language see John L. Moore, "Tudor-Stuart Views on the Growth, Status, and Destiny of the English Language," *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, Hft. 41 (1910), p. 8. Also V. Hall, Jr., *Renaissance Literary Criticism* (New York, 1945), pp. 158 ff.

in the spirit of Thomas Wilson, whom he cites in his Preface.²² With ringing rhetoric Gil exclaims (in my translation): "O you English! You, I say, I implore by that blood of your fathers which beats in your veins, retain, retain what still remains of your native speech and tread in the footsteps of your ancestors. Or will you make your own language a province of Rome, whose Roman arms your ancestors disdained!"

Gil's enthusiasm for his native speech may well have contributed to Milton's own feeling voiced in *At a Vacation Exercise in the Colledge*, which he composed when he was nineteen:

Hail native Language, that by sinews weak
Didst move my first endeavoring tongue to speak.²³

It may also have contributed to Milton's mature prejudice against the French language, as well as to his love for his own.²⁴

Gil defines *logonomia* as "the comprehension of the rules by which an unknown language can be learned more easily" [*logonomia est comprehensio regularum quibus sermo ignotus facilius addisci potest*]. But in making up a new Latin word from his Greek roots²⁵ Gil means much more than his definition indicates. The extended meaning is indicated by his dividing *Logonomia Anglica* into four parts: *Grammatica*, *Etymologia*, *Syntaxis*, and *Prosodia*; and by his expanding the sense of *Syntaxis* to include the tropes and the figures of speech and of thought usually taught in the school rhetorics of his day. Thus Gil's *Logonomia Anglica*, as we have it, is a

²² P. xi. Wilson discusses the vice of the "ynke horne terme" at the beginning of the third Book of his *The Arte of Rhetorique*, readily accessible in G. H. Mair's edition (Oxford, 1909), pp. 161 ff.

²³ Columbia *Milton*, I, 19.

²⁴ Joshua N. Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," *PMLA*, LX (March, 1945), 102-104, cites passages from Milton which demonstrate the prejudice.

²⁵ "Logonomia" is not in Harper's Latin Dictionary nor in DuCange. By analogy with *astronomia*, *logonomia* should give the modern English word, "logonomy," which oddly does exist as a nonce word, according to *NED*, which quotes, "1803 J. Stewart (title) *Opus maximum: Logonomy*; or, the science of language."

combination grammar and rhetoric for English. But in his *Sacred Philosophy* he alludes to "The second part of *Logonomia*, which I call *Logicke*, written by mee." This second part of *Logonomia* is lost to the modern reader save as Gil alludes to it. But there is enough evidence to indicate that to Gil *logonomia* came to include grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and thus for all practical purposes coincided with the trivium, or, indeed, with the "art or philosophy of the logos" which Isocrates praised in *Panegyricus* and *Antidosis* ²⁶ and taught in his school.

As Gil has made the content of his book clear rather by his division than by his definition, I shall now proceed to give a brief account, section by section. The first section, which he calls *Grammatica sive Literatoria*, includes what the Common Grammar (Lily) and others usually call Orthography. Gil, like most teachers of phonetic languages, is distressed that English is not spelled as it is pronounced. He knows it would be much easier to teach to foreigners if it too were phonetic. Hence in his first seven chapters he endeavors to teach a phonetic system of writing English, and in the rest of the book he gives all his illustrative quotations from English writers as well as the English in his paradigms in his own phonetic spelling.²⁷

The second section of *Logonomia* is devoted to *Etymologia*, or in more familiar parlance Accidence. It presents the parts of speech with tables of declensions and conjugations in a clear and adequate manner. This is followed by the third section on Syntax. Syntax, says Gil, is simple or schematized. Simple syntax is that used ordinarily in speaking and writing. Schematized or figured syntax is used by necessity or for ornament, as in oratorical prose. Through Chapter 17 Gil treats

²⁶ *Panegy.*, 10; *Antid.*, 235.

²⁷ Gil's phonetic transcriptions of over 2600 words gives great importance to *Logonomia Anglica* as trustworthy evidence as to English pronunciation in the early seventeenth century. As this aspect of Gil's phonetics could not have interested or influenced young Milton, I shall not report on it. It is fully treated by Alexander Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation* (EETS, 1871), Pt. III, pp. 845 ff., and by Jiriczek in his edition.

English syntax much as the Lily Grammar treats Latin syntax. But with Chapter 18, he takes up the schemes and tropes which are usually dealt with in the school rhetorics of his day, such as Talaëus, Butler, or Farnaby. He knows he is doing something unusual, if not heretical, and defends himself in a brief word to his reader :

It may be, reader, that much that is said here concerning figures, you will judge unsuitable to our design, that I might be adorning our little book with foreign colors derived from rhetoric. I know indeed that authors of great name, Cicero, Quintilian, consider them as pertaining to their own province. But if we look at them with a view to their end, we will see that they belong more to logonomia. The end of rhetoric is to persuade, to which end it utilizes two subsidiaries; namely, arguments and (without which they could not be adequately presented) adornment of speech. Then the end of logic is nothing but to discover arguments and nothing but rhetoric teaches how to draw conclusions from them? You should not say that. It is clear that it is logonomia which adorns speech and logic that adduces arguments. To be sure Tully explains the places whence arguments are drawn [*argumentorum sedes*], but he teaches logic not rhetoric. He explains the adornments of speech, but the grammar master [*grammaticus*] listens, not the orator.

Having defended his procedure satisfactorily, to himself at least, he proceeds with the tropes and schemes. And we are grateful that he does, for in his treatment of what I shall continue to call the rhetorical figures and in his subsequent treatment of prosody Gil makes interesting use of full and discriminating illustrations from English poets. His favorite poet is "our Homer," Spenser, and his principal source for illustrations is the *Faerie Queene*. But he also quotes from *Ruines of Time* and from *The Shepherds Calendar*. Other English poets whom Gil quotes are "our Juvenal," George Wither; "our Lucan," Samuel Daniel; "our Anacreon," Philip Sidney; and "our Martial," Harington. He also quotes from Stanyhurst's translation from the *Aenead*, John Davies, Ben Jonson, and Edward Dyer. Because his own pupils remember definitions better if they are in verse, he

uses Latin verse definitions of the figures, some drawn from Mancinelli, Despauterius, and "our very dear friend Farnaby," and some of his own composition.

Gil's final section, on Prosody, deals with Accent, both grammatical and rhetorical. Then he treats the use of classical meters in English. He approves of writing English accentual verse after the pattern of Greek and Latin poetry, but he does not approve of the efforts to write quantitative English poetry. The idiom of English forbids it, as does the idiom of Italian, Spanish, French, and Hebrew. This he maintains in an interesting passage against Campion.

THE LOST LOGONOMIA

In his *The Sacred Philosophy of the Holy Scripture* (1635) Gil refers to "The second part of *Logonomia*." This is only one of many references to *Logonomia* in *Sacred Philosophy*, for the most part in the explanatory notes which follow each chapter. When I began noticing these references, I took it for granted that they referred to passages in *Logonomia Anglica*, which I had just been reading, for no writer on Gil or his works, so far as my studies have carried me, makes any mention of any other *Logonomia*. Hence I began checking references to *Logonomia* in *Sacred Philosophy* with *Logonomia Anglica*. In no instance did the reference fit. The references were clearly to another work.

As I have quoted Gil's references to the second part of his *Logonomia* quite fully in my article on "Milton's Schoolmasters,"²⁸ I shall spare my reader these details. I wish to point out, however, that Gil expected the reader of his rational treatise on the Creed to be aware of the technical terms and concepts of logic if he were to follow the argument:

The second part of *Logonomia*, which I call *Logicke*, written by mee, among other reasons there mentioned, was especially meant to be an helpe to them that needed helpe for the understanding of this booke.

²⁸ D. L. Clark, "Milton's Schoolmasters: Alexander Gil and His Son Alexander," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, IX, (February, 1946), 129-133.

And therefore for this, and all such dark words, you that need helpe must seeke it there; and having read that booke diligently first, and somewhat understood it; you shall come better furnished to this booke, or the like; and let this note be sufficient for all such words of art as this.²⁹

As by far the most of the references to the *Logicke* make use of abbreviations of English words (Chap., sect., Introduct., numb.) rather than Latin words, I conjecture that it was written in English. As all the references to the lost work are to chapters, sections, introductions, appendixes, numbers—not to pages—it seems likely that the *Logicke* was in manuscript and never was printed, although such a conclusion is of course not necessary. The manuscript may survive. Or the work may have been published anonymously, or with a false attribution after his death. At least Gil has given us a blueprint of his *Logicke* or second part of *Logonomia* which may lead someone sometime to identify it if it does indeed survive in one form or another.

In his *Logonomia Anglica* (1621) Gil showed his interest in Logic as the art which has as its end the discovery of arguments and the drawing of conclusions from them. This art Peter Ramus called Dialectic. The art of adorning speech, which Ramus called Rhetoric, Gil called Logonomia. But in *Sacred Philosophy*, which he tells us he began to write in 1625, he is calling Logic the second part of Logonomia. In conventional terminology, his first part of Logonomia is Grammar and Rhetoric; the second part is Logic. As the second part was completed before he began *Sacred Philosophy*, it is clear that the composition of the work took place while Milton was in the upper forms at St. Paul's which Gil himself taught. Hence it seems inevitable that Gil's interest in Logic and his own special notions of it should have been brought vividly to Milton's attention the last few years he was a schoolboy. Milton does not talk about Logonomia, but when he came to write his own treatise, *Artis logicae plenior*

²⁹ *Sacred Philosophy*, p. 3.

institutio (1672), he arranges it after the method of Peter Ramus, but as he says in Chapter 1, "I have thought it proper to use the word *logic* rather than, with Peter Ramus, *dialectic*, because by logic the whole art of reasoning is aptly signified; while dialectic . . . indicates rather the art of questioning and answering, that is of debating."³⁰ I like to think that it was because of what Gil taught him in school that Milton reached this conclusion.

SACRED PHILOSOPHY

In *The Sacred Philosophy of the Scripture* (1635), Alexander Gil reverted in his old age to an interest in theology that went back at least as far as 1597 when, at the age of thirty three, he had written his *Treatise Concerning the Trinity in Unity of the Deity* (1601).³¹ Indeed the two works may be considered as parts of one, the *Treatise* being reprinted in one volume with *Sacred Philosophy* in 1635 and in the second edition of 1651.

Gil's complete title for his *Sacred Philosophy* is so truly self-explanatory of the subject and spirit of the book that it should be read in its entirety:

The Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scripture: Laid downe as Conclusions in the Articles of our Faith, commonly called the Apostles Creed. Proved by the Principles or Rules taught and received in the Light of Understanding. Whereby it is made plaine to every one endued with Reason, what the stedfastness of the Truth and Mercy of God toward Mankinde is, concerning the attainment of everlasting happinesse: And what is the glory and excellency of the Christian Religion, over all heathenish idolatry, all Turkish, Iewish, Athean, and hereticall Infidelity. Written by Alexander Gil, Mr. of Pauls Schoole. London, 1635.³²

³⁰ Columbia *Milton*, XI, 18-20.

³¹ In *The Epistle Dedicatory* to Thomas White he states, "While I was at Norwich, in the yeere 1597, I writ this treatise."

³² Arthur Barker, "Milton's Schoolmasters," *Modern Language Review*, XXXII (1937), 526-36, analyzes *Sacred Philosophy* as an important influence on Milton in the direction of Christian rationalism. My treatment is intended to supplement, not to supplant, Barker's.

That Gil was all his mature life consistently an orthodox and rational Anglican theologian ³³ appears by his Preface. Here he points out that some critics had attacked his *Treatise on the Trinity* "as thinking it unfit that matiers of faith should be perswaded by reason." This sort "have held me disheartned untill now; for although I there shewed, that even in matiers where faith is most required, both our Lord and his Apostles perswaded by common reasons, as also the Prophets before-time had done: yet though I know no reason of their dislike, I did forbear, because I would not offend of ignorance."

But as he grew older and no others came forward to defend reason he undertook the task and wrote his *Sacred Philosophy*, for the most part between 1625 and 1635.³⁴ In it he vindicated the position which he had never changed:

It seemes therefore, that the authorities on all sides respectively being of like regard, the maine advantage which we have, is in reason, as it shall hereafter appeare, in every Article of our Faith. And therefore they that denie us the use of reason in a matier of so great importance as our Religion is, bereave us of our chiefe advantage; and (as much as in them is) turne us out of the fold of *Christ*, to chuse at large what Religion we like best. But if man were created in the image of God that hee might know and serve him as he ought, and if common reason rightly guided be that image of God in us yet remaining, as it is plaine, because that image and wisdome of the Father is that light which lightens every man that comes into the world, *John* I. I see no cause why reason, that especiall and principall gift of God to mankinde, should not be serviceable to the principall and especiall end for which man himselve is created, that is, his drawing neere unto God by faith in him: for the excellencie of every thing is in the excellencie of the End for which it is. And that common sence and reason have their especiall use in things pertaining unto God, is most manifest. For all our knowledge proceeds from meere ignorance, first knowing words, by their meaning, then things by sence and experiments, from whence the reason ascending by enquire into the causes comes at last into the

³³ His orthodoxy is attested to by submission, in the conclusion to the Preface, "unto the undefiled Spouse of *Iesus Christ* my dearest mother, the Church of *England*," and by the license, "January, XXXI. 1634," signed "Guil. Haywood. capell. domest. Archiep. Cant."

³⁴ The Conclusion, p. 207.

knowledge thereof, and so unto the chiefest and first cause, wherein alone it findes rest.⁸⁵

Gil is at times most rewarding to the modern reader when, like Milton in his prose tracts, he introduces digressions of a personal nature. Thus in the *Conclusion* he eloquently describes the circumstances and difficulties which attended the meditation and composition of his book:

Because I had both read and heard, that divers men of fame in learning, had undertaken this taske which I have now performed (as you see) I waited with great patience and hope, the accomplishment of their promises. But when they were dead, and no fruites appeared, worthy of such hopes as they had given, having now passed the sixtieth yeere of my life, I utterly despaired of that I had so long hoped for. For though I had oftentimes thought of that argument, and for mine owne used had gathered divers Notes and Arguments thereunto: yet when I considered, that in that age, the vigor of wit doth often languish, which in younger yeeres is more pregnant, though not always with that stayednes of judgment which ought to goe therewith; and especially, that for my professions sake, I was compelled to Poets and their fables; and among boyes, to speake to the understanding of boyes; yet when that great and grievous pestilence, which befell in the yeere 1625, had made a stop to that dayly toyle, I knew it was foolish and altogether vaine, to flee from the hand of God; and that no thoughts could befit a Christian better, in the continuall hearing of dolefull knells, and sight of corpses carryed to the grave, then such as hold the mind fast to God, and those blessed hopes that He hath given to Christian men. And therefore having brought my household to a few, and them no gadders abroad, but such as were easily commanded to stay within; I took the comforts which Almighty God vouchsafed mee, and found my self safe under His protection; and so cheerefully undertooke that taske which I had long thought on, because my expectation of others had quite failed me.

That Gil was deeply hurt by the ingratitude of someone near him and by the libelous songs circulated against him is eloquently stated in Chapter 32 of *Sacred Philosophy*, which comments on "From thence he shall come to judge the quicke and the dead." That he endeavored to bear his cross as a Christian should is equally clear:

⁸⁵ Preface, second unnumbered page.

Concerning those offences that are towards a mans owne selfe; let the same mind be in us which was in *Christ Jesus*, who suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow His steps, who being reviled, reviled not againe; who being mocked and wounded, yet made intercession for the transgressors. Therefore, though thine enemies despight thee dayly without a cause; though he that eats thy bread, lift up his heele against thee, though the drunkards make songs upon thee, yet remember that there is a reward for the righteous, that thy innocency shall breake forth as the light, and thy patience shall shine as the noone day. And remember that unthankfull wretches are no new thing in the world, for the Orator said long agoe, and I have often found it true, "τοὺς κακοὺς εὖ ποιῶν ὁμοία πείσει τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κύνας σιτίζουσιν, &c." ³⁶ But if that Punke could say, *Men moveat cimex Pantilius?* ³⁷ Shall he that hath experience of such monsters of ingratitude, put it in the power of a sonne of *Belial* to disquiet his peace? Therefore let the Rymer read what others judge of him. *Feltham Resolv. Cent. 2. Ch. 56.* ³⁸ Let him write a book against me; I will bind it as a Crowne upon my head. And if for my love, and for my best deserts I find enemies, yet will I pray for them, *Psal. 109. 4.* For seeing we know, that if we suffer with *Christ*, we shall also reigne with Him, shall we not pray for them that seale unto us the assurance of this hope? Therefore shall this be among my chiefest joyes, That the drunkards make songs upon me.

SONGS THE DRUNKARDS MADE

Two of the songs the drunkards made are quoted by Aubrey in his account of Alexander Gil. Gil's injured reference to the songs show that they do indeed refer to him and not to his son Alexander. ³⁹ Aubrey's stories, which he tells to account for the songs, may be ever so untrustworthy as evi-

³⁶ Isocrates, *Ad Demon.*, 29. "If you benefit bad men, you will have the same reward as those who feed stray dogs; for these snarl alike at those who give them food and at the passing stranger." Norlin, L.C.L.

³⁷ Horace, *Sat. I, x*, 78: "Am I to be bit by that louse Pantilius?"

³⁸ *Resolves: Divine, Morall, Politicall.* By Ow[en] Felltham. The second Centurie. London, for Henry Seile, at the Tygers Head, in S.Pauls Churchyard, 1629. Chap. 56 reads as follows; in its last sentence: "To invenome a name by libels, that already is openly tainted, is to adde stripes with an Iron rod, to one that is flayed with whipping: and is sure in a minde well temper'd, thought inhumane, diabolicall."

³⁹ Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy," p. 304, says of Gil the younger, "Some ribald poems on Gill's flogging were published during the Commonwealth."

dence for the alleged facts, but they are at least sound evidence for the tradition that Gil was not only a flogging master, but also a very popular master with his boys. In both of the stories the boys, his "little myrmidons," his "army," are shown to be staunchly loyal to him. But to return to Aubrey:

This Dr. Gill whipped Duncomb, who was not long after a colonel of dragoons at Edge-hill fight, taken pissing against the wall. He had his sword by his side, but the boyes surprized him: somebody had throwen a stone in at the windowe; and they seised on the first man they lighted on. I think his name was *Sir John D.* (Sir John Denham told me the storie), and he would have cutt the doctor, but he never went abroad but to church, and then his army went with him. He complained to the councill, but it became ridicule, and so his revenge sank.

Dr. Triplet came to give his master a visit, and he whip't him. The Dr. gott Pitcher, of Oxford, who had a strong and a sweet base, to sing this song under the schoole windowes, and gott a good guard to secure him with swords etc., and he was preserved from the *examen* of the little myrmidons which issued-out to attach him; but he was so frightened that he beshit him selfe most fearfully.⁴⁰

The following is the song which, according to Aubrey, Dr. Triplet got Pitcher of Oxford to sing under the school windows.

In Paul's church-yard in London
There dwells a noble firker;
Take heed you that pass
Lest you taste of his lash
Still doth he cry
Take him up, take him up, Sir,
Untruss with expedition.
On the birchen tool
That he winds i' th' school
Frights worse than an inquisition.

If that you chance to pass there,
As doth the man of blacking;
He insults like a puttock
O're the prey of the buttock
With a whipt a . . . sends him packing.
Still doth he cry, etc.

⁴⁰ Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men*, ed. A. Clark (2 vols. Oxford, 1898), I, 263.

For when this well truss't trouncer
 Into the school doth enter
 With his napkin at his nose
 And his orange stuff with cloves
 On any . . . he'l venter.
 Still doth, etc.

A French-man voyd of English
 Enquiring for Paul's steeple
 His *Pardonnez-moy*
 He counted a toy,
 For he whip't him before all people.
 Still doth he cry, etc.

A Welsh man once was whip't there
 Untill he did Be . . . him
 His *Guds-pluttera-nail*
 Could not prevail
 For he whipped the Cambro-Britan
 Still doth he cry, etc.

A captain of the train'd-band
 Yclept Cornelius Wallis
 He whip't him so sore
 Both behind and before
 He notch't his . . . like tallyes.
 Still doth he cry, etc.

For a piece of beef and- turnip,
 Neglected, with a cabbage,
 He took up the pillion
 Of his bouncing mayd Jillian
 And sowc't her like a baggage.
 Still doth he cry, etc.

A porter came in rudely
 And disturbed the humming concord,
 He took-up his frock
 And he payd his nock
 And sawc't him with his owne cord.
 Still doth he cry, etc.⁴¹

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 263.

Another song the drunkards made, *Gill upon Gill*, recounts a flogging Dr. Gil is alleged to have given his son Alexander. Since all the satirical details involve the real or fictitious derelictions of the younger Gil, I shall quote the libelous verses when I recount his life and works.

With all respect for Dr. Gil's sincerity, we may doubt the durability of his exalted mood of Christian resignation expressed in the line I have already quoted: "Therefore shall this be among my chiefest joyes, That the drunkards make songs upon me." But we cannot doubt his sincere, and upon the whole successful, effort to lead a Christian life as a father of his sons, a subject of his King, and master of his school.

Milton was fortunate in having as his High Master a man so well prepared to teach Christian morals and good literature to boys, who so well possessed the qualifications specified by Colet in his statutes for his new school of Paules, "A man hoole in body honest and vertuose and lernyd."

ALEXANDER GIL, JR.

More is known about Alexander Gil the younger than about his father because he got himself into a great deal more trouble. Whereas his father was interested in rationalistic Anglican theology, he was excited about Puritan politics. Whereas his father grieved because the drunkards made songs about him, he on one occasion at least got a bit drunk and talked too much, and on several occasions wrote and circulated satirical verses which won him powerful enemies. Of him Anthony à Wood writes less encomiastically than he did of his father:

Alexander Gill, son of A. Gill mentioned among the writers under the year 1633, was born in London . . . became a commoner of Trin. coll. in the beginning of the year 1612, . . . took the degrees in arts, became an usher under his father in S. Paul's school, and under Tho. Farnabie the famous schoolmaster in Goldsmith's-Rents; under both which, he spent more than ten years. I find one Dr. Gill to have been

master of Okeham school in Rutlandshire, but whether the same with our author, who was of an unsettled and inconstant temper, I know not. At length, after many changes, rambles, and some imprisonments, he succeeded his father in the office of chief master of S. Paul's school, an. 1635, and in the latter end of the next year took the degree of doct. of divinity, being then accounted one of the best Latin poets in the nation. In 1640 he was removed from the said school, with an allowance of 25 l. per an. allotted to him in requital of it.⁴²

The "some imprisonments" mentioned by Wood were the result of a violent satire Gil wrote attacking the influence of Buckingham on the King, in which he made derogatory remarks about both James and Charles, and for which he almost lost his ears when the remarks were reported to Laud by Chillingworth. Aubrey, in his notes on Chillingworth, is more sympathetic to Gil than to the informer:

Dr. Gill, filius Dris Gill (schoolmaster of Paules schoole), and Chillingworth held weekly intelligence one with another for some years, wherein they used to nibble at states-matters. Dr. Gill in one of his letters calles King James and his sonne, the old foole and the young one, which letter Chillingworth communicates to W. Laud, A. B. Cant. The poore young Dr. Gill was seised, and a terrible storm pointed towards him, which, by the eloquent intercession and advocacy of Edward, earle of Dorset, together with the teares of the poore old Doctor his father, and supplication on his knees to his majestie, were blown-over.⁴³

In brief, what happened is this, as can be pieced together from the State Papers⁴⁴ and from other contemporary sources. On September 5, 1628, twelve days after the Duke of Buckingham was murdered by Felton, Gil was arrested at St. Paul's School, questioned by Laud, and committed to the Gate House, "so close that neither father, mother, nor friend

⁴² Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (1815), III, 42-43. W. L. Sargent, *Book of Oakham School* (rev. ed., 1928), records that Gil was appointed to the headmastership of Oakham School in 1642. On Sept. 19, 1945 Mr. Sargent, himself headmaster of Oakham School 1902-1929, sent me the following message through the courtesy of Mr. Griffith, the present headmaster: "I was unable to find when he acutally took up the appointment and I had reason to think that he was often absent." Hence Wood was in error in placing his death in 1642.

⁴³ Aubrey, I, 171.

⁴⁴ Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628, pp. 319, 325, 329, 338.

can speak to him." On a visit to Oxford, Gil had drunk freely of beer in the buttery and cellar of Trinity College in the company of other young men who, he thought, were trustworthy friends. At this beer drinking he had delivered himself of a great deal of loose and dangerous talk. Laud reported to the King that he had made "speeches so foul against religion, allegiance, your Majesty's person, and my dear lord by execrable hands laid in the dust," that he had interrogated Gil in private. As Aubrey correctly states, Gil had been betrayed by the informer William Chillingworth, who subsequently became a Papist and subsequent to that rejoined the Church. Indeed Chillingworth not only informed on Gil but egged him on to his most dangerous remarks. Gil's first remark, as reported, was, "We have a fine wise king. He has wit enough to be a shopkeeper to ask, 'What do you lack?' and that is all." Then Chillingworth asked Gil what he thought of James. He answered that "the duke and he were together, and if there were a hell and a devil, surely the devil was there." He was then reported by a witness to have begun a health to Felton, "in a madbrain railing humour," which most of the young men present joined him in drinking. Leach remarks, "As most sound Protestants in the country would have done." ⁴⁵

Incriminating documents were found, some of them two years old. Among them, and still preserved amongst the State Papers, endorsed "Gill," was a satire which suggests in no uncertain terms that Buckingham was the King's catamite, and that the King should be freed from the favorite's evil influence if the country was to be saved. On the basis of this damaging evidence, instigated as well as discovered by Chillingworth, Gil was degraded from the ministry and from his degree in divinity, fined £2000, and condemned to lose his ears, one at Oxford and one at London. As Aubrey reports, by the intercession of his father and of his influential friends the fine and mutilation were remitted. He was, how-

⁴⁵ "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," p. 303.

ever, dismissed from his post as usher at St. Paul's School. On October 18, 1630, Gil was promised a pardon, and on November 30 the pardon was granted.⁴⁶

Part of Gil's satire against Buckingham was published by Hamilton in 1859,⁴⁷ but Masson, Leach, and McDonnell when they reprint it omit the first eight lines, the savage ones which almost cost Gil his ears. But it seems safe to print them now, and they help to account for the extreme irritation of the Star Chamber.

Heavens still preserve him next I crave;
 Thou wilt be pleased, good God, to save
 My sovereign from a Ganymede,
 Whose whorish breath hath power to lead
 His Majesty which way it list:
 O! let such lips be never kist.
 From a breath so fair excelling,
 Bless my sovereign and his smelling.

Moreover it is now possible to recover the whole poem, of which these verses are a part, and attach it to Gil. The verses which Hamilton quotes as being used as evidence against him appear as the conclusion of a poem called *The Five Senses* among the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden listed in the edition of 1711 as never before printed.⁴⁸ A version of the same poem in Scottish appears in the Scottish Text Society edition of Drummond among the poems of doubtful authenticity.⁴⁹ It seems improbable that Gil would accept the attribution of the poem to him when it was aduced as part of the evidence against him unless he was in

⁴⁶ Cal. S.P. Dom., 1630, pp. 362, 393.

⁴⁷ W. D. Hamilton, ed., *Original Papers Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton* (Camden Soc., Vol. 75), p. 67.

⁴⁸ *A Collection of all the Poems written by William Drummond, of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1711), p. 55.

⁴⁹ *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. L. E. Kastner (Edinburgh and London, 1913) II, 296. This version was transcribed by the editor "from MS 19.3.8, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, in the handwriting of Sir James Balfour, Lyon King of Arms." The stanzas "Feeling" and "Smelling" are transposed; hence this text is much further from the Gil text than is the edition of 1711.

fact the author. It seems likely that if he thought it by Drummond, or by Ben Jonson, say, he would have said so. But who gave or sent a copy to Drummond? How did it get into his papers in such a way that it was printed as his in 1711? ⁵⁰

This satire should help us to understand the sort of influence that his friend and schoolmaster, Alexander Gil, Jr., exerted on young Milton in his teens. Briefly it shows Gil to be a strong Protestant of Puritan leanings. He is for Parliament and Council, equity and law, the Gospel, the peace of the country and the welfare of the people. He is against bawdy tales, profane jests, wine, banquets and feasting, flatterers, illegal and oppressive taxes, Jesuits (and all aspects of Papacy in Spain or Italy or elsewhere), and most violently of all against Buckingham, the "Ganymede" ⁵¹ whose whorish Breath hath power" to lead the King whichever way he wished, Buckingham, the upstart whose "good looks and facile manners" endeared him to James, who made him a knight in 1615, an earl in 1617, a duke in 1623, whose ascendancy over Charles even before the latter's accession in 1625 made him the most influential and hated man in England until Felton killed him. ⁵² His rise and fall coincided with Milton's schooldays. Milton's political puritanism was encouraged by the Gil who wrote *The Five Senses*.

Another evidence of Gil's strong Protestantism is his violent poem *In ruinam camerae Papisticae* (1623). This poem rejoices in the collapse of a Popish place of worship which killed almost one hundred Roman Catholics in London. As this happened on the Fifth of November (new style), Gil naturally assumed that it was God's judgment for the Gun-

⁵⁰ The text of the entire poem is reproduced in my article, "Milton's Schoolmasters," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, IX (February, 1946), 146-147. Allan H. Gilbert, "Jonson and Drummond or Gil on the King's Senses," *Modern Language Notes*, LXII (January, 1947), 36-37, suggests that the Scotch version is the original and that Jonson may have brought it from Hawthornden in 1619.

⁵¹ *NED* gives "catamite" as the second meaning of Ganymede, and cites this passage, attributed to Drummond, as authority.

⁵² Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts*, pp. 56-65.

powder Plot. Though "our benignant prince lets you meet for your idolotrous worship, God takes his cause in hand."⁵³ Milton's own poem on the Gunpowder Plot, *In quintum novembris, aetatis 17*,⁵⁴ was written in 1626. Whether it was or was not influenced by Gil or Gil's poem, it is none the less savage in its attacks on the Papists.

Gil was also a strong advocate of the Protestant cause in the 30 years war, a cause more popular with Parliament and the people than with the King. Gil had sent Milton a copy of verses congratulating "Henry of Nassau for the capture of the city." Milton's letter of acknowledgment establishes both Gil and himself as in sympathy with Parliament against the King when he says, "But, as we hear you sing the prosperous successes of the Allies in so sonorous and triumphal a strain, how great a poet we shall hope to have in you if by chance our own affairs, turning at last more fortunate, should demand your congratulatory Muses!"⁵⁵

During 1631-32 Gil showed a great activity in writing propaganda tracts in favor of the Protestant cause as led by Gustavus Adolphus. Several of these tracts are mentioned by Wood in his list of Gil's publications.

The first of these is *EHINIKION de Gestis, Successibus, et Victoriis Regis Sueciae in Germania* (London, 1631). Wood says that "this was Englished and explained with marginal notes by W. H. under this title, *A Song of Victory*." The Short-Title Catalog does not list by Gil or by W. H. any *Song of Victory*. It does list as by Gil, however, *The New Star of the North Shining upon the Victorious King of Sweden* (1631)⁵⁶ which has as its theme that the star discovered by Tycho Brahe was an astrological forecast of the success of Gustavus and Protestantism. In his *Elegy in Memory*

⁵³ ПΑΡΕΡΤΑ (1632), p. 10.

⁵⁴ Columbia Milton, I, 236 ff.

⁵⁵ *Epist.* 2, Columbia Milton, XII, 8-9. For the date, see Chifos, "Milton's Letter to Gil," *MLN*, XLI, 37.

⁵⁶ Entered S.R. 15d.1631. London, Printed by Augustine Mathews for Robert Milbourn, 1631. I read the copy at the Huntington. There is also another edition of 1632 bound with *EHINIKION*, Matthews for Milbourn, a copy of which is at Harvard.

of *Lady Penelope Noël* (1633) he states that he had written an elegy on the death of Gustavus:

Was't not enough, that on great Sweden's hearse
My muse, astonish'd, pinned her mournful verse.⁵⁷

This Elegy on Gustavus is doubtless one of the ten appended to the Third Part of the *Swedish Intelligencer* and is yet to be identified.

The publication which won Gil the reputation of being "one of the best Latin poets in the nation" was *ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ, Sive poetici conatus* (1632).⁵⁸ It collects Latin, and a few Greek, poems by Gil, mostly occasional. One of these, mourning the death of Prince Henry, was written as early as 1612.⁵⁹ Another mourns King James, another celebrates the accession of Charles, to whom the volume is dedicated, another is an encomium of Laud, with whom he had made his peace. More interesting, if less in the grand style, are his verses to his friends, including members of the Cambden family. His verse celebrating his father's sixtieth birthday seasons the topics of encomium with flippancy if not Attic salt. The verse sent with a skin of wine to Thomas Farnaby in 1624 is at once the most charming and urbane of the volume. Since Gil's Latin verse is accessible only in the rare original edition, I shall quote this poem, which was written while Milton was

⁵⁷ W. D. Hamilton, ed., *Original Papers . . . of John Milton*, pp. 65-66. The editor has modernized a good deal. Bliss prints the first ten lines of this Elegy in his edition of Wood, III, 44. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1633. Lady Penelope was daughter of Sir Baptist Hicks, Viscount Cambden.

⁵⁸ *ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ, Sive Poetici Conatus/Alexandri ab Alexandro Gil/Londinensis, ab aliquammul-tis antehaec expetiti, tandem/in lucem prodeunt. Londini/Imprimebat Aug. Matth. sumpti-/bus Rob. Milbourne, apud quem veneunt/ad insigne canis leporarij in Coeme-/tario D. Pauli. 1632.* The title page bears the following quotation from Virgil, quite characteristic of Gil: "Me quoque dicunt/ Vatem pastores, sed non ego credulus illis." Wood states that Gil was also the author of a book on arithmetic (S.T.C., 22562) which I have not seen. Wood also lists 15 items which he had seen in a MS book of verses of Gil's composition, one of which, according to Bliss, survives in the Bodleian.

⁵⁹ Elkin C. Wilson, *Prince Henry and English Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1946), somehow misses this one.

still at St. Paul's School by his friend the poet whose verses he called "truly great."

*Ad Clarissimum Doctissimumque virum, THO. FARNAB.
Art. Mag. Kalend. IAN. 1624*

Cum utre vini Canarii pleno.

En tibi fausta novi primordia nuntiat anni
Qui cupit ut multos possis feliciter annos
Ducere, solitae qui sint obliviae vitae.
Ianus adest, adsunt *Iano* adventante Kalendae.
Ille tibi, quoties redeuntes ordine menses,
Atque senescentis volventia saecula mundi
Annumerat, clara multum venerande mathesi,
Auspiciis opto toties melioribus adsit.
Sed quid verba valent? quid inania vota, precesque?
Quam sterile est xenium cum votis mittere chartam?
Charta timet scombros, spargendaque thura per aras;
Vota, velut nigri sinuosa volumina fumi,
Migrant, inque leves abeunt evanida ventos.
Ecce tibi, qualem patitur mea curta sepullex,
Officii magni, magni quoque pignus amoris
Ausus, cum venia, tenuem sum mittere strenam.
Eia age, sepositis studii post taedia curis,
Flagranti exhilarans *Iani* convivia *Baccho*
Vina novum fundas cyathis *Canaria* nectar
Ipse tibi interea generosi dona *Lyaei*
Quamvis amoveam; at lupulato roscida zytho,
Quin & aromatico spumantia pocula succo
Pocula grata tenens, multam potabo salutem,
Et tormentatis gaudebo abstemius undis.⁶⁰

In English prose translation the poem reads as follows:

*To the Most High and Learned Gentleman, Thomas
Farnaby, January 1624,*

TO ACCOMPANY A SKIN OF CANARY WINE

Most dear Sir, he, whose warmest hope it is that thou mayest enjoy many happy carefree years to come, hails thee at the glad beginning of this New Year. January has come, January's first day is here.

⁶⁰ Gil explains in a footnote, "*Hispani cervisiam nostram suo idiomate vocant Aqua tormentado.* [Corrected in the *Errata*. *agua tormentado* lege *agua tormentada*.]" McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, p. 181, erroneously dates this verse 1621.

Each year, as thou mark'st the months passing one by one, as thou countest the dying seasons of an ageing world, may January return to bless thee with ever happier fortune!

However, of what use are words? Of what use are pious hopes and empty prayers? Is it not indeed vain to send thee this scroll as a gift, inscribed merely with wishes? The paper fears the fishes;⁶¹ and clods of earth quench the votive altar fires. Wishes vanish, even as a billowing mass of black smoke vanishes and is lost in air.

I have ventured, Sir, with thine indulgence, to send thee a humble gift—humble it is, as, indeed, my means permit of no other—as a token of my duty, and of the great love I bear thee.

Come then, I beseech thee, lay aside awhile the cares of learning, that thou mayest celebrate with joy the coming of a New Year; and pour out a cup of this new nectar, Canary wine. Perchance I shall rob thee in the meantime of the gifts of the generous God of Wine, for in this same sparkling Canary shall I drink down a deep pledge to thy health. Yes, dispensing on this occasion with everyday beer, I shall rejoice with thee in wine.⁶²

It is thus clear that Gil's consistent propaganda for the Protestant cause on the Continent and for Parliament at home, together with his sharp-tongued attack on the King's favorite and the court party, made notorious by the sentence of mutilation pronounced against him, made him fair game for libelous attacks by political opponents. Hence in such satires and libels as *Gill upon Gill*, which I shall now quote, the reader should be chary of accepting the allegations as evidence for fact. It is one of "the songs the drunkards made" about old doctor Gil, although the satire is leveled primarily at the son. Milton later received the same sort of treatment from Bishop Hall and from More. Aubrey, who quotes the verse explains that it is written "Dialog-wise between Alexander Gill, father, and Alexander Gill, son."

⁶¹ Gil's "Charta timet scombro" is an ancient jest that goes back at least to Martial, "nec scombris tunicas," (4, 86, 8) and Catullus (95, 7-8). Milton was pleased to imitate it in his insult to Salmasius that his book was so worthless as to be useful only as wrapping paper for fishes, (*Columbia Milton*, VIII, 55-57) and in his earlier sneer in the *Apology* (*ibid.*, III, 333) that his opponent's folios would make winding sheets for pilchers. Gil uses the jest in his attack on Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady*, which I quote later, and I have honored myself by imitating them all in my Preface. It should be clear that Milton learned to relish the scombri in school.

⁶² Translation by John Anthony Scott.

*Milton's Schoolmasters**Gill upon Gill, or**Gill's uncas'd, unstript, unbound.*

Sir,

Did you me this epistle send,

Which is so vile and lewdly pen'd,

In which no line I can espie

Of sense or true orthographie?

So slovenly it goes,

In verse and prose,

For which I must pull down your hose.

O good sir! then cry'd he,

In private let it be,

And doe not sawce me openly.

Yes, sir, I'll sawce you openly

Before Sound and the company;

And that none of thee may take heart

Though thou art a batchelour of Art,

Thou thou hast payd thy fees

For thy degrees:

Yet I will make thy to sneeze.

And now I doe begin

To thresh it on thy skin

For now my hand is in, is in.

First, for the themes which thou me sent

Wherin much nonsense thou didst vent,

And for that barbarous piece of Greek

For which in Gartheus thou didst seeke.

And for thy faults not few,

In tongue Hebrew,

For which a grove of birch is due.

Therefore me not beseech

To pardon now thy breech

For I will be thy -leech, -leech.

Next for the offense that thou didst give

When as in Trinity thou didst live,

And hadst thy in Wadham College mult

For bidding sing *Quicunque vult*

And for thy blanketting

And many such a thing

For which thy name in towne doth ring

And none deserves so ill

To heare as bad as Gill—

Thy name it is a proverb still,
 Thou ventest hast such rascall geer.
 Next thou a preacher were
 For which the French-men all cry Fie!
 To hear such pulpitt-ribauldrie.
 And sorry were to see
 So worthy a degree
 So ill bestowed on thee.
 But glad am I to say
 The Masters made the stay
 Till thou in quarto didst them pray.
 But now remains the vilest thing,
 The alehouse barking 'gainst the king
 And all his brave and noble peeres;
 For which thou ventredst for thy eares.
 And if thou hadst thy right,
 Cutt off they had been quite
 And thou hadst been a rogue in sight.
 But though thou mercy find
 Yet I'le not be so kind
 But I'le jerke thee behind, behind.⁶³

Aubrey's brief notes to these verses follow herewith. He jotted them between the lines or in the margins. To "Sound" he notes "The usher." *Quicunque vult* has a long note, "When he was clark of Wadham College and being by his place to begin a Psalme, he flung out of church, bidding the people sing to the praise and glory of God *quicunque vult*." For "blanketing" we have "He was tossed in a blanket." To pulpit-ribauldrie there is a note, none too relevant, "A knave's tongue and a whore's tayle who can rule?" "In quarto" is explained, "He did sitt 4 times for his degree."

Except for the allusion to the "alehouse barking 'gainst the king," (1628) all these allegations deal with his college days which terminated in 1619 with his M.A. The only degree mentioned is the B.A. If Gil ever did birch his son, after school days, it is most probable he did it before Milton joined

⁶³ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, I, 265-266. It is understood that the four suspension points represents the four letter word, "arse" which Aubrey wrote.

the school. The alehouse barking could readily be added to an existing slander. The verse has been seriously taken as evidence that Gil knew Hebrew, even if none too well.

A satire in English, directed against Ben Jonson, brought down upon Gil's head Ben's wrath but not the disasters that resulted from *The Five Senses*. It grew out of Ben Jonson's attack on Gil's father, who, be it remembered, called George Wither, "our Juvenal" in *Logonomia Anglica*. In *Time Vindicated* (1623), in the process of satirizing Wither, Jonson takes a fling at Gil in these lines:

There is a Schoolemaster
Is turning all his workes too, into *Latine*,
To pure *Satiricke Latine*; makes his Boyes
To learne him; calls him the times *Juvenal*;
Hangs all his Schoole with his sharpe sentences;
And o're the Execution place hath painted
Time whipt, for terror to the Infantry

This much happened while Milton was at school to Dr. Gil, and whether or not Milton was set to turning Wither into Latin, at least he must have been aware that the Gils, father and son, felt their withers were wrung by Ben Jonson's jibe. But the Gils, or at least the younger Gil, held their fire until a good opportunity presented itself ten years later when Jonson's *The Magnetick Lady* was a failure on the stage. Young Gil's attack on Jonson is preserved in a manuscript transcribed and published by Philip Bliss in his edition of Anthony à Wood. Selections follow:

Upon Ben Jonson's MAGNETTICK LADYE

Parturient montes, nascitur—

Is this your load-stone, Ben, that must attract
Applause and laughter att each scaene and acte?
Is this the childe of your bed-ridden witt,
An none but the Blacke-friers foster ytt?
If to the Fortune you had sent your ladye
Mongest prentizes and apell-wyfes, ytt may bee
Your rosie foole might haue some sporte haue gott,

With his strang habitt and indiffinett nott :
But when as silkes and plush, and all the witts
Are calde to see, and censure as befitts,
And yff your follye take not, thay, perchance
Must here them selves stiled, gentle ignorance.
Foh! how ytt stinckes! what generall offence
Giues thy prophanes, and grosse impudence!

. . .

Yett, which is worss, after three shamefull foyles,
The printers must bee putt to further toyles,
Whereas indeed to vindicate thy fame
Th'had'st better giue thy pamphlett to the flame.

. . .

As for the press, yf thy playe must come too'te
Lett Thomas Purffoot or John Trundell doo'te,
In such dull charrectors as, for releiffs
Of fires and wrackes, wee find in beggine breefes;
But in capp paper lett ytt printed bee,
Indeed brown paper is to good for thee.
And lett ytt be soe apocriphall,
As nott to dare to venture on a stall,
Exceptt ytt bee of druggers, grocers, cookes,
Victuallers, tobackoe-men, and such like rookes.
From Buckler's-burye lett ytt not be barde,
But thinke nott of Ducke lane or Paules church-yarde.
Butt to aduyse the, Ben, in this strickt age,
A bricke-hill's fitter for thee then a stage:
Thou better knowes a groundsell how to laye,
Then lay the plott or grounde worke of a playe;
And better canst drect to capp a chimney,
Then to conuerse with Clio or Polihimny.
Fall then to worke, in thy old age, agen,
Take vpp your trugg and trowell, gentle Ben.
Let playes alone, and yff thou needs wilt wright
And thrust thy feeble muse into the light,
Lett Lowine cease, and Taylore feare to touch
The loathed stage, for thou has made it such!

FINIS. ALEXANDER GILL.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The whole poem is quoted by Bliss in his edition of Wood, II, 597, as by the elder Gil, which false attribution Bliss corrects III, 43.

Of course the references to Ben's bricklaying might be considered hitting below the belt, but so might Ben's references to Gil's ears. Gil actually kept his ears but he was condemned to lose them for his scurrilous references to the King in 1628. Ben's retaliation on Gil merely reminds us that when Milton was a boy at school and a youth at college hitting below the belt in satire was standard procedure. It also supplies evidence that Gil helped out at his father's school after his dismissal in 1628. But here is Jonson on Gil:

Shall the prosperity of a pardon still
 Secure thy railing rhymes, infamous Gill,
 At libelling? Shall no Star-Chamber peers,
 Pillory, nor whip, nor want of ears
 All of which thou hast incurred deservedly,
 No degradation from the ministry
 To be the Denis of thy father's school
 Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool!
 Thinking to stir me thou hast lost thy end.
 I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tyke, Go send
 Thy blatant muse abroad and teach it rather
 A tune to drown the ballads of thy father;
 For thou hast nought in thee to cure his fame
 But time and noise, the echo of his shame,
 A rogue by statute, censured to be whip't,
 Cropt, branded, slit, neck stocked, Go you are stript.⁶⁵

Ben Jonson's violence against Gil was not due entirely to a literary quarrel. It also partook of politics, for Jonson and Zouch Townlye were involved at the same time as Gil in prosecution for their alleged writing of inflammatory verses against Buckingham. Townlye escaped to the Hague, and Jonson swore that he had not written the verses in question.⁶⁶ He had to detest Gil very hard indeed to avoid being blamed along with him.

In all his political activities Gil shows himself at one with

⁶⁵ McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 197. Masson quotes it, *Life of Milton*, I, 566.

⁶⁶ Hamilton, *Original Papers*, p. 72. See also Masson, I, 565, for the exchange of jibes.

the great majority of Englishmen. Patriotic and Protestant he occupied the middle ground—so long as the middle ground was tenable—between the radical Puritan Party and the Reactionary Party of King and Bishops. He was too violent against Buckingham in 1628 to please Laud and the King. But in 1630 he was pardoned and made his peace with the King and the Archbishop. In ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ (1632) he included an encomiastic Latin poem in honor of Laud, which he undoubtedly had sent to the Archbishop previously in manuscript. In so far as this was time-serving or enlightened self-interest it served its purpose, for when the Company of Mercers, in 1640, dismissed Gil from the High Mastership of St. Paul's School, Laud went to his defense. The King, too, had forgiven his sharp tongue, for in his petition to the King for reinstatement Gil states that it was through the King's "royal grace and favour" that he had been chosen High Master when his father died in 1635.

The charge the Mercers laid against Gil was the brutal flogging of a boy named Bennett. Evidence was adduced that Gil was furiously angry at the boy and dragged him about the school by the ears.⁶⁷ Such excessive flogging was doubtless deplorable, but all too common in all English grammar schools to be exceptional or to be reasonable grounds for dismissal. The real reasons are more likely to be those which are clearly stated in Gil's petition to the King on January 28, 1639-40. The petition follows:

Your poor subject being, through your royal grace and favour chosen Master of Paul's School, London, by the Company of Mercers, has continued there above four years, during which time he has discharged his duty in educating the scholars in piety, conformity, good manners, and good literature, to the approval of the Mercers Society and other learned men intrusted by them to inquire and judge of his endeavors therein. Until of late your poor subject having good cause to believe that a great part of the revenues of the school is not employed according to the founder's intention, and having sometimes expressed his desire "that there might be fair play above board, that the school might

⁶⁷ McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 189.

know its own, and have its own," the feoffees are so incensed against your poor subject, that upon the unjust complaint of a lying, thieving boy, your poor subject's scholar and servant, whom they (to the spurning down of authority and discipline) have maintained against his lawful teacher and master, they have picked a quarrel against your poor subject, and, contrary to the founder's statute, at an unlawful time, in an unlawful place, without any just cause proved, have warned your poor subject to depart the school, he having no other livelihood in the world. Prays the King of his princely clemency to give order for the school's and your poor subject's relief herein.⁶⁸

I believe that the elder Gil's attack on false feoffees in *Sacred Philosophy* (Chapter 38, p. 87) alludes to the same abuse of St. Paul's endowments. The Mercers replaced Gil as High Master with John Langley, a very strict Puritan, less likely to seek support from the Archbishop and the King. But they made some acknowledgment that they were wronging Gil by paying him £50 down and agreeing to pay him the allowance of £25 per annum that Anthony à Wood mentions. Leach surmised, "There is some reason to think that the flogging was only an excuse for getting rid of a somewhat violent reformer, who had the audacity to apply his principles to the school and to the City Company, who were its trustees."⁶⁹

After his dismissal from the High Mastership Gil "taught certain youths privately in Aldersgate-street in London," according to Wood. Gil's presence there may have influenced Milton to become a schoolmaster after his return from Italy, for when he did, he took a house in Aldersgate street near Gil.

These were the men, Alexander Gil and his son Alexander, who were the strongest influence on the schoolboy John Milton. Just what their influence was in every detail we shall never know. Enough has been said to show the nature of the

⁶⁸ Cal. S.P. Dom., 1639-40, p. 389.

⁶⁹ Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy," p. 304. In his letter of Sept. 1, 1946, Sir Michael McDonnell writes, "from what I have found in the Mercers' Acts of Court I have no doubt that Leach was wrong in his surmise. . . . A. G. Junior gave the governing body a lot of trouble & the key to it all was his intemperance. The puzzle to me is to conceive why they endured it as long as they did."

influence and the direction toward which it tended. That Milton did indeed follow in the direction pointed out by his teachers is obvious to all students of his life and writings. That he also followed other influences as well and obeyed the promptings of his own nature is equally obvious. And so enough of the Gils at this time and in this place. They were most interesting men, worthy of far more detailed study than this brief sketch allows.

5. *The Course of Study at St. Paul's School*

WHAT WAS TAUGHT at St. Paul's School to John Milton and to boys before and since his time has a necessary relationship to the plans of John Colet, the founder, who made his wishes clear in his statutes. Every one who writes about St. Paul's School and about Milton when he was a schoolboy quotes from these statutes, but often only in part, so that a false emphasis is given the Christian authors he mentions, and too little attention given to the revived interest in the Roman classic writers, the noble pagans, who came into the picture as part of the humanism of Erasmus. That the educational theories of Erasmus form the dominant influence on Colet's new school of Paul's should be clear from the insistence on his name in what follows from Colet's statutes:

What shalbe taught

As towchyng in this schole what shalbe taught of the Maisters and lernyd of the scolers it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particuler but in generall to speke and sum what to saye my mynde, I wolde they were taught all way in good litterature both laten and greke, and goode auctors suych as haue the veray Romayne eliquence joyned withe wisdomes specially Christyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chaste laten other in verse or in prose, for my entent is by thys scole specially to increse knowledge and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children And for that entent I will the Chyldren lerne ffirst aboue all the Cathechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made or sum other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyldren more spedely to laten spech. And thanne Institutum Christiani homines which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke called Copia of the same Erasmus. And thenne other auctours Christian as

*Latinus
Institutum Christiani homines
Copia*

lactancius prudentius and proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus and suche other as shalbe thoughte convenyent and moste to purpose unto the true laten spech, all barbary all corrupcion all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poyseynd the olde laten spech and the varay Romaine tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was usid, whiche also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes. I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I utterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best and instruct the chyldren in greke and Redyng laten in Redyng unto them suych auctours that hathe with wisdomes joyned the pure chaste eloquence.¹

Colet transmitted his statutes to William Lily, the first High Master of St. Paul's School, June 18, 1518, as the original manuscript indicates. The school had been in operation since 1512. That conservative scholastics were already in active opposition to the humanism of the new school before 1511 is clear from the correspondence of Colet and Erasmus.² The most explicit statement of the hostility to the new humanist school and a plausible reason for it is contained in a letter from Colet to Erasmus, March, 1512:

I have one amusing thing to tell you. I hear that a bishop, who is regarded as one of the wiser sort, in a great meeting of people, took our school to task, and said that I had founded a mischievous thing, in fact, to use his own words, a house of Idolatry. I believe that he said this, because the Poets are read there! Observations of this sort do not anger me, but make me laugh.³

Colet could well laugh in a letter to Erasmus, but before he had drafted his statutes he was had up for heresy, no laughing matter, even though he had been acquitted.⁴ The bishop

¹ J. H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet* (new ed., London, 1909), p. 278. Also Robert B. Gardiner, *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School* (London, 1884), p. 382, whose note on "blotterature" is excellent.

² *Epist.* 221, 223, 231. F. M. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus* (London, 1904), II, 22, 24, 37-38.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 63; Nichols' translation.

⁴ Lupton, *Life of Colet*, pp. 201-206.

who called St. Paul's School a house of idolatry because the poets were read there was not objecting to the Christian poets whom Colet parades by name in his statutes. The bishop was objecting to the pagan poets, who, as the bishop well knew, were read at St. Paul's School from the beginning, and, may I add, continue to be read there to the present day. Colet's overemphasis on the Christian poets should not mislead us. It was put there to placate if not to mislead the bishop. The poets Virgil and Terence were read, as the mention of their names should indicate, and as their mention in the *Carmen de Moribus* of Lily bears out. A fuller study of the curriculum will show that other classical poets were read as well.

When we read Colet on chaste Latin and pure eloquence we must bear in mind that as a humanist he is more concerned with the literary manners than with the morals of great writers. He is insisting that his boys learn classical Latin, not medieval Latin. They are to learn to speak the pure colloquial Latin of Terence, and write the pure literary Latin of Cicero, Virgil, and Sallust in their own prose and verse compositions, just as Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine had done in the Roman grammar schools and schools of rhetoric which all three saints had attended in the fourth century. He is as angry at the barbarisms and solecisms of medieval Latin as ever Valla was, who led the movement to revive classical Latin in his *Elegantiae* (1471). As Valla put his attack on corrupt Latin:

Present conditions are such that every true friend of literature can scarcely restrain his tears. The Latin language is now in no better plight than the city of Rome after its capture by the Goths. For centuries the philosophers, jurists, and orators have been using a language which does not show any longer a trace of pure Latin and with which they can barely make themselves understood.⁵

The first prose work of Erasmus, written at the age of 18, was an Epitome of the *Elegantiae* of Lorenzo Valla. And in

⁵ Translation from Albert Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus*, (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1930), p. 43.

his *De ratione studii* (1511) he says that in reading the classical authors of the best period for the study of vocabulary, ornament, and style there is no better guide than Valla's *Elegantiae*.

The *De ratione studii* should be studied carefully as the reasoned, philosophical statement of the humanist position in regard to education. It is readily accessible in the rather periphrastic, but understanding, translation of Woodward.⁶ That it was the philosophical guide of Colet in the early days of his new school of Paul's is clear from Colet's letter to Erasmus (October, 1511):

I have run through that Epistle of yours about Studies . . . and as read it, I not only approve it all, but I truly admire your genius, and art, and learning, and copiousness, and eloquence. I have often wished that the boys at our school could be taught in the way you explain. I have often wished too, that we had such teachers as you have most wisely described, and when I came to that passage at the end of your Epistle, in which you profess that you could bring lads to a fair capacity of speaking both languages in fewer years than those pedants teach them to construe a sentence, Oh Erasmus! How I wished then, that I had you as a teacher in our school!⁷

The following brief passage from the *De ratione studii* will, if read in conjunction with Colet's statement in his *Æditio*, demonstrate at least one channel through which a veneration for the Classical authors reached St. Paul's School. Erasmus writes:

But I must make my conviction clear that, whilst a knowledge of the rules of accidence and syntax is most necessary to every student, still they should be as few, as simple, and as carefully framed as possible. I have no patience with the stupidity of the average teacher of grammar who wastes precious years in hammering rules into children's heads. For it is not by learning rules that we acquire the power of speaking a language, but by daily intercourse with those accustomed to express

⁶ W. H. Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge, England, 1904), pp. 161-178. A critical edition and translation has been made by J. F. Larkin and rests with his unpublished dissertation in the library of the University of Illinois. A 15-page abstract of the dissertation, "Erasmus' *De Ratione Studii*: Its Relationship to Sixteenth Century English Literature," was published at Urbana, Ill., in 1942.

⁷ *Epist.* 223, in Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, II, 24.

themselves with exactness and refinement, and by copious reading of the best authors. Upon this latter point we do well to choose such works as are not only sound models of style but are instructive by reason of their subject matter. . . . Amongst Roman writers, in prose and verse, Terence, for pure, terse Latinity has no rival, and his plays are never dull. I see no objection to adding carefully chosen comedies of Plautus—the less obscene ones. Next I place Virgil, then Horace; Cicero and Caesar follow closely; and Sallust after these. These authors provide, in my judgment, sufficient reading to enable the young student to acquire a working knowledge . . . It is not necessary for this purpose to cover the whole range of ancient literature.⁸

The same note is struck in Colet's *Æditiio* at the end of the book, after the strictly grammatical part. This is "the accident that I made" which he mentions in his statutes of 1518. It may have been used in the school several years earlier. The earliest known copy is of 1527, Lupton's transcript of which I quote:

These be the viii. partes of spekyng, whiche for an introduccyon of children in to latyn speche I haue thus compiled, digested, and declared: prayenge god that it may profyte to the more spedy lernyng of yonge begynnners, fynally to his honour, to whome be al prayse & glory without ende. Amen.

Of these viii. partes of speche in ordre well construed be made reasions and sentences and longe oracyons. But how, and in wat maner, and with what construccyon of wordes, & all the varietees and diuersities and chaunges in latyn speche (whiche be innumerable) yf ony man wyl know, and by that knowlege attayne to vnderstande latyn bokes, and to speke and to wryte the clene latyn, let hym aboue al besyly lerne & rede good latyn authours of chosen poetes and oratours, and note wysely how they wrote and spake, and studi alway to folowe them: desyryng none other rules but theyr examples. For in the begynnynge men spake not latyn bycause suche rules were made, but contrariwyse bycause men spake suche latyn vpon that folowed the rules and were made. That is to saye, latyn speche was before the rules, not the rules before the latyn speche.⁹ Wherefore, welbeloued maysters & techers of grammer, after the partes of speche sufficiently knownen in your scholes, rede and expounde playnly vnto your scholers good authours, and shewe to them euery worde, and in euery sentence

⁸ *De. rat. stud.*, sect. 3; trans. Woodward.

⁹ An imitation of Cicero *De orat.* I, xxxii.

what they shal note and obserue, warnynge them besyly to followe and to do lyke bothe in wrytynge and in spekyng, & be to them your owne selfe also spekyng with them the pure latyn veray present, and leue the rules. For redyng of good bokes, diligent informacyon of taught maysters, studyous aduertence & takynge hede of lerners, heryng eloquent men speke, and fynallys easy imitacyon with tongue and penne, more auayleth shortly to gete the true eloquent speche then al the tradicions, rules, and preceptes of maysters.¹⁰

The passages I have quoted indicate a preoccupation with language, with purity of vocabulary, correctness of grammar, and beauty of style. If taken alone they might well lead the modern reader into the misapprehension that the humanist grammar school was concerned only with language and quite ignored content. To the contrary. But the humanists did believe that the boy in school should master the arts of communication before he concentrated on the matter to be communicated. Erasmus makes this clear in the opening words of his *De ratione studii*:

In the first place all knowledge is perceived to fall into two classes, knowledge of things and knowledge of words. Knowledge of words comes first in time; knowledge of things is first in importance. But some hasten unwashed to the feast, as they say, who neglect proper care for language in their overeagerness to acquire knowledge of things. For, since we can understand nothing except through words, whoever is unskilled in language, will be blind in judgment, wandering in mind, and crazed when he deals with a knowledge of things. . . .

Thus grammar vindicates its first place in the order of studies; and both Greek and Latin grammar should be taught to the boys, not only because in these two languages is contained all the knowledge worthy to be learned, but also because of the natural affinity of the two tongues. . . .

When the boys have attained a command of languages that, if not elegant, is at least pure, they should turn their minds to an understanding of what they read. Not that the boys fail to acquire no mean knowledge of many things from the authors we read for excellence of expression. But I do affirm that a knowledge of almost everything is to be acquired from a study of the Greek authors.¹¹

¹⁰ Lupton, *Life of Colet*, pp. 291-292.

¹¹ My translation.

Another humanist, Vives, put the proper relationship between knowledge of things and knowledge of language as follows: "Languages are the approach, indeed, to all the arts, since by them the arts have been transmitted; but they are only the approach, not the arts; the door not the house." ¹²

That by no means all humanists maintained the equilibrium of Erasmus is notorious, as is his satire, *Ciceronianus* (1528), directed against those who carried to ridiculous extremes the sound pedagogical practice of setting Cicero as a model for schoolboys to imitate in their Latin themes. ¹³

The faults of extreme preoccupation with language on the one hand and extreme neglect of it on the other were attacked by Francis Bacon in the first book of his *Advancement of Learning* (1605). I shall quote him on both scores, on the vain affectations of delicate learning and on the vain altercations of contentious learning, because I find him usually quoted only in his attacks on humanistic rhetoric. ¹⁴ But first his attack on the latter:

These foure causes concurring, the admiration of ancient Authors, the hate of the Schoole men, the exact studie of Languages, and the efficacie of Preaching did bring in an affectionate studie of eloquence, and copie of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily to an excesse; for men began to hunt more after wordes, than matter, and more after the choisenesse of the Phrase, and the round and cleane composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their workes with tropes and figures then after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundnesse of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgement. Then grew the flowing, and watrie vaine of *Osorius* the Portugall Bishop, to be in price: then did *Sturmius* spend such infinite, and curious paines vpon *Cicero* the Orator, and *Hermogenes* the Rhetorician, besides his owne Bookes of Periods, and imitation, and the like: Then did *Car* of Cambridge,

¹² *De causis corruptarum artium* (1531), in *Opera Omnia*, VI (1785), 30.

¹³ I discuss this more fully in my article, "The Requirements of a Poet," *Modern Philology*, XVI (December, 1918), 86-88.

¹⁴ J. W. Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education* (Cambridge, England, 1921; first printed, 1905), p. 19. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (2 vols., Urbana, Ill., 1944), I, 273.

and *Ascham* with their Lectures and Writings, almost dieſie *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, and allure, all young men that were ſtudious vnto that delicate and poliſhed kinde of learning. Then did *Erasmus* take occaſion to make the ſcoffing Eccho. *Decem annos conſumpſi in legendo Cicerone*: and the Eccho answered in Greeke, "Ove; *Asine*."¹⁵ Then grew the learning of the Schoole-men to be utterly deſpised as barbarous. In ſumme, the whole inclination and bent of thoſe times, was rather towards copie, than weight.

Here therefore, the firſt diſtemper of learning, when men ſtudie words, and not matter: whereof though I haue represented an example of late times: yet it hath beene, and will be in all time . . .

The ſecond which followeth is in nature worſe then than the former: for as ſubſtance of matter is better than beautie of words: ſo contrariwiſe vaine matter is worſe, than vaine words: wherein it ſeemeth the reprehension of Saint *Paule*, was not only proper for thoſe times, but propheticall for the times following . . . For he aſigneth two Markes and Badges of ſuſpected and falſified Science; The one, the noueltie and ſtrangenesse of tearmes; the other, the ſtrictneſſe of poſitions, which of neceſſity doth induce oppoſitions, and ſo queſtions and altercations. . . . This kinde of degenerate learning did chiefly raigne amongſt the Schoole-men, who having ſharpe and ſtronger wits, and aboundance of leaſure, and ſmal varietie of reading; but their wits being ſhut vp in the Cells of a few Authors (chiefly *Ariſtotle* their Dictator) as their perſons were ſhut vp in the Cells of Monasteries and Colledges, and knowing little Hiſtorie, either of Nature or time, did out of no great quantitie of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, ſpin out vnto vs thoſe laborious webbes of Learning which are extant in their Bookes.¹⁶

J. W. Adamſon, in his *Pioneers of Modern Education* ſays, "Bacon's actual concrete achievements in ſcience were and, in the circumſtances, could only have been ſmall, or even trifling." His books "ſhow that their author was, firſt and foremoſt, a rhetorician endowed with a glowing imagination." ¹⁷

¹⁵ This academic jeſt depends on the fact that the laſt two ſyllables of *Cicerone* rhyme with the Greeke word, "Ove, meaning jackaſſ. The aſſ Erasmus ſneers at haſ juſt ſaid: "I have ſpent ten years in the ſtudy of Cicero."

¹⁶ *The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficience and aduancement of Learning, diuine and humane* . . . At London, Printed for Henrie Tomes, and are to be ſould at his ſhop at Graies Inne Gate in Holborne. 1605, pp. 18-20. May alſo be found in Spedding's edition, Vol. VI, p. 119.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

The rhetorician in Bacon surely shows in the figures and cadences of his own prose as well in his appreciative savoring of the "sweet falling of clauses" which evidences the gourmet of fine prose as clearly as does Dionysius of Halicarnassus' love for "words smooth as a maiden's cheek."¹⁸

Milton himself, in his *Tractate of Education* (1644), published twelve years after he left Cambridge, like Bacon, attacks the scholastic teaching of logic in the universities as he had done in his *Prolusions*¹⁹ written while he was still at Cambridge. He also complains of the time spent on the rules of Latin and Greek grammar in school, time better devoted to reading authors whose matter would enrich the mind with solid information and true wisdom,²⁰ leveling much the same criticism against contemporary schools as Erasmus and Colet had leveled in the passages I have recently quoted. He believed, as Erasmus had believed, that almost all knowledge needful to men can be gained from the books of the ancient authors, that boys must learn the languages in order to read the books, and that they will learn the languages more expeditiously by reading the authors than by memorizing all the exceptions in the grammar:

Seeing every Nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of Learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the Languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after Wisdom; so that Language is but the instrument conveying to us things usefull to be known.²¹

Adamson is quite right in saying, "*Of Education* is a negligible quantity in the history of pedagogy."²² Milton was not a Pioneer of Modern Education. He was a sound adherent of the humanistic tradition which, as he recognized in the *Tractate*, is solidly rooted in the schools of Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle. His inclination did not lead him to the *Janua's*

¹⁸ *De comp. verb.*, 22-23.

¹⁹ *Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam*, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 158.

²⁰ *Of Education*, *Columbia Milton*, IV, 276-281.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 277.

²² *Pioneers of Modern Education*, p. 127.

and *Didactics* of Comenius, or to any other modern innovator.

THE CURRICULUM

If we analyze Milton's grammar school education chronologically we arrive at a curriculum. The typical curriculum of an eight-form school was divided in turn into elementary and advanced classes. The "Lower School" included the first four forms or classes. It was taught by the usher. It concentrated on Latin grammar, easier Latin authors, Latin conversation, and the writing of simple themes and exercises in Latin. The "Upper School" included the last four classes. It was taught by the head master. It concentrated on Greek grammar, the reading of Latin poetry and oratory, and in highest class a smattering of Hebrew.

As St. Paul's School had three teachers instead of two (an Under Usher, a Surmaster, and a High Master), it was not arranged entirely as a typical eight-form school. But all grammar schools had a great deal in common both in educational philosophy and in method. It is not impossible to reconstruct, within a reasonable margin for error, the sequence of studies Milton followed. I shall now make the effort.

The earliest known curriculum of St. Paul's School is preserved in manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, amongst the manuscripts of Thomas Gale, High Master in 1672-97. This manuscript curriculum, entitled "The constant Method of Teaching in St. Pauls Schoole London," is summarized briefly by McDonnell and fully by T. W. Baldwin.²³ This curriculum, followed at the school fifty odd years after Milton's school days, gives a solid point of departure for an effort to work back to earlier versions from which it was derived. In the interest of clearness I shall present a transcript of the manuscript in its original tabular form as faithfully copied as

²³ McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, pp. 265-267; Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, I, 118-133.

in me lies.²⁴ The reader will observe that in general grammar was learned in the morning and authors were read in the afternoon for the first four days of the week, and that Friday was given over to repetition and review of what had been learned during the week.

*The constant Method of Teaching in St. Pauls
Schoole London*

- Generally. 1. A Chapter in the Bible and set prayers in Latine every Morning at 7 of the Clocke.
 2. Forming of Verbs and Catechising every Saturday in Fourmes and exercises for Monday.
 3. Exercise read every Day.
 4. On Fryday night verbs are given to be formed on Saturday morning which verbs are fairly Writt by every Boy in particular.

Prima Class

Monday.	Morning	A parte in the Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Sententiae Pueriles
Tuesday.	Morning	A Part in the Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Sententiae Pueriles
	Exercise	Some verses out of the Proverbs
Wenesday.	Morning	A Parte in the Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Nomenclatura
	Exercise	Some verses out of Proverbs
Thursday.	Morning	A Parte in the Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Sententiae Pueriles
	Exercise	Some Verses out of Proverbs
Fryday.	Morning	A Repetition of what hath been said the whole weeke
	Afternoon	Nouns Substantives and Adjectives are declined
	Exercise	Some verses out of Proverbs

Secunda Class

Monday.	Morning	A Part in the Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Cato

²⁴ Reproduced from a photostat of Trinity College Library MS. o. 10. 22, with the kind permission of the College Council. I have expanded contractions and abbreviations.

Tuesday.	Morning	A Parte in the Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Æsops Fables
	Exercise	Some verses out of the Psalmes or English Examples
Wenesday.	Morning	A part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Nomenclatura
	Exercise	Some verses out of the Psalmes
Thursday.	Morning	A part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Cato
	Exercise	Some verses out of the Psalmes or English Examples
Fryday.	Morning	A Repetition of what hath been said the whole weeke
	Afternoon	Nouns Substantives and Adjectives are Declined
Saturday.	Exercise	Some verses out of the Psalmes
<i>Tertia Class</i>		
Monday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Ovid de Tristibus
Tuesday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Erasmus Colloquia
	Exercise	
Wenesday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Nomenclatura
	Exercise	Some verses out of the Proverbs or Psalmes or English Dictamen
Thursday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Ovid de Tristibus
	Exercise	Some verses out of the Proverbs or Psalmes
Fryday.		A Repetition of what hath been Learned the whole weeke
Saturday.		Some verses out of the Proverbs or Psalmes
<i>Quarta Class</i>		
Monday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Ovid Metamorphoses
Tuesday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Ovid's Epistles
	Exercise	A story in Heathen Gods to be turned into Latin. Turning verses and proving them

Wenesday.	Morning	A Parte in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson in Nomenclatura
	Exercise	An English Dictamen
Thursday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	A Lesson out of Justin
	Exercise	Some verses out of Proverbs or Psalmes
Fryday.		A Repetition of what has been Learn'd the whole Weeke
		Turning of verses and proving them
		Some verses out of the Proverbes or Psalmes

Quinta Class

Monday.	Morning	A Part in the Greeke or Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	Martiall or Salust construed and examined
Tuesday.	Morning	A Part in the Greeke or Latin Grammar
	Afternoon	Virgill construed and examined
	Exercise	A Psalm to turn into Latin Verse, or Morall Theme
Wenesday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	Martiall construed and examined
	Exercise	A Psalm to turne into prose or Morall Theme
Thursday.	Morning	A Part in the Grammar
	Afternoon	Virgill construed and examined
	Exercise	A story in Heathen Gods to be turned into Latin
Fryday.	Morning	A Part in Grammar
	Afternoon	Martiall construed and examined, or Repetition of the whole Weeke. Phrases collected
Saturday.	Exercise	A Psalm to Turn into Lattin verse against Munday

Sexta Class

Monday.	Morning	A Part in the Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Virgill construed and examined. Phrases collected
Tuesday.	Morning	A Part in Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Greeke Testament construed and examined
	Exercise	A morall Theme for Latin verse or other exercise
Wenesday.	Morning	A Part in Greeke Grammar

	Afternoon	Martiall construed and examined
	Exercise	A Morall Theme
Thursday.	Morning	A Part in Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Virgill construed and explained
	Exercise	A Morall Theme or Dictamen
Fryday.	Morning	A Part in Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Martiall construed and examined or Virgill or Repetition
Saturday.	Exercise	A Divine Theme

Septima Class

Monday.	Morning	A Part in Minor Poets or Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Tulleys Select Orations
Tuesday.	Morning	A part in Minor Poets or Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Horace or Appollodorus
	Exercise	A morall Theme or Declamation
Wenesday.	Morning	A part in Minor Poets or Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Tulleys Orations
	Exercise	A morall Theme
Thursday.	Morning	A Part in Minor Poets or Greeke Grammar
	Afternoon	Horace or Appollodorus
	Exercise	A morall Theme
Fryday.	Morning	A Part in Minor Poets
	Afternoon	Tulleys Orations or Repetition etc.
Saturday.	Exercise	A Divine Theme

Octava Class

Monday.	Morning	A Part in Hebrew Psalter or Grammar
	Afternoon	Homers Iliads
Tuesday.	Morning	A Part in Hebrew as before
	Afternoon	Juvenall or Persius, Aratus or Demosthenes
	Exercise	A morall Theme or Declamation
Wenesday.	Morning	A Part as before etc.
	Afternoon	Homer or Dionisius
	Exercise	A morall Theme
Thursday.	Morning	A Part as before etc.
	Afternoon	Juvenall Homer etc.
	Exercise	A morall Theme
Fryday.	Morning	A Part as before etc.
	Afternoon	Homer Juvenall or Repetition
Saturday.		A Part as before etc.
		A Divine Theme

A brief note on some of these books may be appropriate. The Latin Grammar usually called Lily's was required to be used by all grammar schools in England. The boys memorized and on Friday repeated from memory what they had learned. *Sententiae Pueriles* gives in two columns very brief and simple moral maxims in Latin and English. The boys memorized, parsed, and construed. Cato, *Disticha Moralia*, the "Catoun" quoted by Pertalote in the *Nun's Preests Tale*, is composed of more difficult moral maxims to be construed and memorized. Aesop was read by the little boys in Latin. The *Colloquia* of Erasmus introduced the boys to Latin conversation by presenting amusing dialogs in colloquial Latin to be imitated. Justin, or Justinus, who in the time of Hadrian made an epitome of Macedonian history, was recommended by Hoole for his excellent examples, moral observation, and easy style.²⁵ Plimpton, in his *The Education of Shakespeare* (1933) reproduces from his library, now the Plimpton Collection at Columbia University, title pages of many of the schoolbooks mentioned and gives some indication of their content.

The curriculum is much less specific as to what is done what day in the upper four classes, partly because they were taught by the High Master, who might like to change things around a bit, and partly because the speaking and writing of themes in prose and verse in Latin and Greek took up a great deal more time than in the Lower School. These exercises were of course correlated with the model authors who were studied in each class. The curriculum was intended only as a skeleton which indicated the usual progress from simple beginnings to more mature accomplishments, and the weekly routine which enabled the teacher to make grammar the key which unlocked the authors, and the authors the exemplifications of the rules of grammar, and the combined force of grammar and authors as a guide to the boy in his growing mastery of the arts of

²⁵ *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* (1660), ed. by E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool and London, 1913), p. 177.

speaking and writing correct, idiomatic, and elegant Latin.

Before we can even guess how close this was to the curriculum Milton followed, we must study the beginnings. At least we can recognize that it is not too far off from the educational philosophy of Erasmus and Colet as we have met with it earlier in this Chapter, nor too far off from the plan of learning to speak and write "the clean chaste Latin" by a combination of grammar study and study of the best authors as models for imitation, with emphasis on the authors.

Hints for the early forms of the curriculum at St. Paul's can be picked up from Colet's statutes. Even though the founder states explicitly that it is beyond his wit to devise and determine in particular what shall be taught in his new school, he does in general specify both Latin and Greek, he recommends the Christian authors, the catechism, the grammar he made or a better one, Erasmus's Latin catechism, and his *Copia* as a guide to theme writing, and he singles out for praise the pure Latin of Cicero, Sallust, and Virgil.

The better Latin grammar he hoped for was "Lily's Grammar," a collaboration or composite work containing bits from Colet, suggestions from Erasmus, and large sections by Lily. It was Lily, the first High Master of the school, who listed in his *Carmen de Moribus* Cicero, Terence, and Virgil as authors his pupils may look forward to studying in his school. Erasmus in his *De ratione studii*, which Colet took as a plan for his school, lists as basic school authors in Latin the names of Terence, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust. All these, save Terence and Caesar, appear in the reading list of authors studied in the late seventeenth century curriculum; and it would be very strange indeed if both Terence and Caesar were not read by Milton at St. Paul's School.

On very good evidence T. W. Baldwin believes "that Wolsey's famous curriculum of 1528 at Ipswich is only a copy or a close adaptation of Paul's,"²⁶ and hence gives a close approximation of the curriculum of Paul's in the early days.

²⁶ *Small Latine*, I, 118.

Continuing the new history of study

His first bit of evidence is from John Strype, who had been a schoolboy at St. Paul's between 1657 and 1661 and hence was familiar with the curriculum of his day. Strype says, speaking of Wolsey's curriculum for his school at Ipswich, "He constituted two masters over this school and divided it into eight distinct classes; taking pattern, I suppose, from Dean Colet's school by St. Paul's."²⁷

The concurring evidence is from Samuel Knight, who had been a schoolboy at St. Paul's about 1696, when the curriculum described in the Gale manuscript was in force. In a footnote to his *Life of Colet*, correcting a misstatement made by Wood, he says, "Note. Ipswich School *was after the Model of S. Paul's eight Classes, &c.*"²⁸

Wolsey published the curriculum for his school at Ipswich in his *Rudimenta grammatices et docendi methodis* (1529). The text and an English translation appear in J. T. Philipps, *A Compendious way of Teaching*.²⁹

Wolsey's curriculum differs from St. Paul's curriculum described in the Gale manuscript in having no Greek nor Hebrew, but it carries the Lily Grammar of its day into the Sixth Form, and reads about the same Latin authors. The curriculum does not indicate what is to be done in the morning and afternoon, nor lay out the week's work by days. I shall summarize it briefly with especial attention to the authors to be read.

Curriculum of Wolsey's School at Ipswich

- Class I. For Grammar, the eight Parts of Speech and a great deal of drill in pronunciation.
- Class II. The boys are to be accustomed to speaking Latin, and

²⁷ John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (Oxford, 1822), I, Part I, 181. Strype prints the text of Wolsey's Epistle and his curriculum as Appendix XXXV, I, Part II, 139-143.

²⁸ Samuel Knight, *The Life of Dr. John Colet* (London, 1724), p. 127, note.

²⁹ Baldwin, *Small Latine*, I, 122-126. The B.M. catalog lists the Philipps work as, *A Compendious way of teaching ancient and modern languages us'd formerly by T. Faber*. Likewise, the . . . Letter of Cardinal Wolsey to the masters of his school at Ipswich, with an English translation. By J. T. Philipps, 4th ed., 1750.

translating from English into Latin. Read Cato's *Disticha* and Lily's *Carmen*.

- Class III. Latin conversation with Aesop and Terence as models. For grammar, Lily on the gender of nouns.
- Class IV. The author for the year is Virgil, with emphasis on reading aloud. For grammar, Lily on preterites and supines.
- Class V. The author is Cicero, *Select Epistles*, as a model for rich and copious style in writing Latin letters.
- Class VI. The reading of Sallust or Caesar for history, and Lily for syntax and heteroclite verbs.
- Class VII. The authors are Horace, *Epistles*, and Ovid, either *Fasts* or *Metamorphoses*. Verse composition and Latin letter writing. Turning verse to prose and prose to verse. Making digests to report to the master.
- Class VIII. Higher rules of grammar, such as the figures, to be studied in Donatus, Valla, *Elegantiae*, and other ancient writers who treat of the Latin tongue.

This curriculum gives all the school authors recommended by Erasmus as basic, but also the elementary reading matter for the first forms, Aesop and Cato, which were still standard procedure in the late seventeenth century.

Between 1529 and 1679 we have contributory evidence as to the curriculum at St. Paul's School from an old Pauline, Robert Laneham, who, in his famous *Letter* (1575) states,

I went to scool for sooth both at Pollez, & allso at saint Antoniez: in the fifth foorm, past Esop fabls iwys, red Terens. Vos istaec intro auferte, & began with my Virgill Tytire tu patulae. I coold conster & pars with the best of them syns, that as partly ye kno have I traded the feat of marchaundize in sundry Cuntreyz, & so gat me Langagez: which do so littl hinder my Latten, az (I thank God) have mooch encrease it.³⁰

Further contributory evidence is supplied by the list of books in the school library in 1582-83. For the most part these are not textbook editions such as the boys might own, but elaborate annotated editions, along with a good set of

³⁰ *A Letter: Wherin, part of the entertainment untoo the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, in Warwit Sheer in this Soomerz Progress 1575 iz signified.* From the Huth copy at the Huntington Library. Laneham quotes the first words of Ecloga I, of Virgil.

dictionaries, to be used for reference. But the books would not have been bought for the school library if the boys were not studying the authors represented. The authors named are, for *Latin*, Horace, Terence, Virgil, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Persius, as well as the less frequently used authors, Silius Italicus, Seneca, and Pliny; for *Greek*, The New Testament, edited by Beza, Isocrates, edited with a Latin translation by Wolf, and Euripides, with a Latin translation.³¹

When Alexander Gil, in his *Logonomia Anglica*, praises English poets he pairs them with certain ancient poets, whom, he suggests, they resemble. Thus to him Spenser is "our Homer"; George Wither, "our Juvenal"; Samuel Daniel, "our Lucan"; Sir Philip Sidney, "our Anacreon"; Harington, "our Martial." It is probable that the ancients mentioned were among the authors read at St. Paul's when Gil was High Master and Milton, his pupil.

And finally there is the testimony of John Milton himself as to the authors he read when he was a schoolboy. In the *Apology for Smectymnuus* he tells us that at school he read "those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave Orators & Historians . . . others were the smooth Elegiack Poets . . . which in imitation I found most easy."³² From what we have now learned of the curriculum we may take it he read Cicero and either Isocrates or Demosthenes for oratory, and Sallust and Caesar and perhaps Justin or Dionysius for history. We know that he studied Ovid in the Third and Fourth Forms in preparation for learning to write elegiacs in the Fifth Form. Although there is no evidence from any of the grammar school curricula I know of that any elegiac poet save Ovid was studied in class, such Puritans and Precisions as Thomas Becon

³¹ R. B. Gardiner, *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School* (London, 1884), p. 452.

³² *Columbia Milton*, III, 302.

(1560) and John Stockwood (1579) assume with William Prynne (1633), and like him are horrified, that the school-boys read, "Ovids wanton Epistles and Books of love; Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius," as well as "Martiall, the Comedies of Plautus, Terence, and other such amorous Bookes savoring either of Pagan Gods, or of scurrility, amorousnesse and prophanesse."³³

Hence there is no reason to doubt Milton's statement that as a schoolboy he read more elegiac poets than Ovid. He need not have studied them all in class. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and Gallus were frequently bound together and were quite accessible to grammar school boys.³⁴

As we have seen that the Greek Testament was read in the Sixth Form and Hebrew in the Eighth Form in the late seventeenth century curriculum, it seems safe to assume that Milton is referring to his school days at St. Paul's School in the following passage from the opening of *De Doctrina*, "I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages."³⁵ The passage adds weight, at least, to the conjecture that in this respect Milton's curriculum was the same as the one recorded in the Gale manuscript.

The following passage from the *Apology for Smectymnuus* does not specify languages or authors, but it does suggest that St. Paul's curriculum when Milton followed it read pretty much the same best authors in Latin and Greek as did other good schools. He is satirizing Hall's *Toothless Satirs*, and is crediting his schooling as well as his ear for his ability to distinguish versified drivel from poetry. "For this good hap I had from a carefull education to be inur'd and

³³ William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), p. 916. Quoted by Baldwin, *Small Latine*, I, 113, who summarizes Puritan attacks on pagan school authors, in *ibid.*, pp. 108-116.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 116.

³⁵ *Columbia Milton*, XIV, 5.

season'd betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an eare that could measure a just cadence and scan without articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, then patient to read every drawling versifier." ³⁶ That his study of Greek began in school is implied in his Letter to Philaris, "As I have been from boyhood [*à pueritia*] an especial worshipper of all bearing the Greek name, and of your Athens in chief." ³⁷

As I conjecture the sequence of authors read at St. Paul's by Milton and examine the evidence which I have assembled I am inclined to assign a great deal of authority to the curriculum in the Gale manuscript. I believe it represents, with a few exceptions, the curriculum Milton followed. I restore Terence, who is mentioned by every witness before Milton's time. Because in *Sacred Philosophy* Alexander Gil, when he speaks of "the orator," quotes from Isocrates *Ad Demonicum*,³⁸ and because in 1583 there was a copy of Isocrates, but not of Demosthenes, in the school library, I conjecture Milton read Isocrates for Greek oratory instead of Demosthenes. Because Euripides was in the school library, I suggest that Milton studied him. If the "Greek Minor Poets," read according to the Gale curriculum in the Seventh Form, refers to Winterton's *Poetae Minores Graeci* (1635), Milton could not have used the book, but he must have read some Greek poetry in that form, so I conjecture Hesiod, Theognis, Pindar, and Theocritus as the list from which Dr. Gil made his choice. They appear frequently in other curricula. Of course Milton must have read many more authors when he was a schoolboy than he studied formally in class. And of course many other authors were introduced to him, in snatches, as illustrations of figures of speech or of metric forms in his dictionaries, grammars, and rhetorics.

³⁶ Columbia *Milton*, III, 328.

³⁷ *Epist.* 15, Sept. 28, 1654, in Columbia *Milton*, XII, 65.

³⁸ See p. 80.

But I am confident that the following list of authors answers the question, "What porridge ate John Milton?"

Conjectured Curriculum of St. Paul's School
1618-1625

The exercises and themes were correlated with the authors and guided by textbooks of grammar and rhetoric.

- Class I. Latin Grammar. Read *Sententiae Pueriles* and Lily, *Carmen de Moribus*.
- Class II. Latin Grammar. Read Cato, *Disticha Moralia* and Aesop, *Fabulae* (in Latin).
- Class III. Latin Grammar. Read Erasmus, *Colloquies* and Terence, *Comedies*, for colloquial Latin, and Ovid, *De Tristibus*, to begin poetry.
- Class IV. Latin Grammar. Read Ovid, *Epistles* and *Metamorphoses* (and perhaps other elegiac poets), and Caesar and perhaps Justin for history.
- Class V. Begin Greek Grammar, and continue with some review of Latin Grammar. Read Sallust for history and begin Virgil, *Bucolics*.
- Class VI. Greek Grammar and the Greek *Testament* in the morning. Begin Cicero (possibly *Epistles* and *Offices*), continue Virgil (and perhaps take up Martial).
- Class VII. Greek Grammar. Read minor Greek poets (perhaps chosen from Hesiod, Theognis, Pindar, and Theocritus), Cicero, *Orations*, and Horace.
- Class VIII. Hebrew Grammar and *Psalter* in the morning. Read Homer, Euripides, and Isocrates (and perhaps Demosthenes), Persius and Juvenal. (Perhaps Dionysius for history and Aratus.)

That the curriculum Milton followed at St. Paul's was not at all exceptional may be inferred from T. W. Baldwin's very full quotations from sixteenth and seventeenth century grammar school curricula.³⁹ How normal and usual it was may be seen from a glance at the curricula of a few other grammar schools about the same period. Let us first consider the Ordinances of 1566 for the Norwich Grammar School of which Saunders says: "Passages of this Norwich docu-

³⁹ *Small Latine*, I, 75-450.

ment seem taken direct from the constitution of St. Paul's School detailed in Colet's *Aeditio*." ⁴⁰

According to these Ordinances the boys in the lower school read Cato, Erasmus, *Colloquies*, or such author as the high master shall appoint, and the grammar. In the upper school they read Latin authors chosen from the following list: Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Caesar, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Cicero. The authors in Greek were *The New Testament*, *The Table of Cebes*,⁴¹ Aesop, Lucian, Hesiod, Euripides. For "oratours" they had "Tullium ad Herenium, Quintilianum, Aphthonii Progymnasmata." ⁴²

At Blackburn Grammar School, in Lancashire, the statutes read:

The Authors in Lattin for any Introductioun may bee the gramar, Cato de Moribus, *Supistris*, [Sulpitius] *Verulanus* de morribus in mensa, Esopes Fables, etc. In poetrie Terence, Ovide, vergill, Horrace, Juvenal and Persius. In histories Salust, Cecars Commentaries, and *Tullus* [Titus] *Livius* Decades: In Cicerowes workes, his familiar Epistells, offices tusculans questians, his Retorike and Oracions, for Epistells Macropedius, for Themes Aphthonius. . . . The Authors in Greeke may bee Cambdens or *Clemades* [Clenard's] Gramar, Basills, Epistells, Isocrates Orations, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Pindarus, *Olnithrace*, *Demostenes* [Demosthenes Olynthiacs] Orations, and the Greeke Testament.

In Hebrue if any bee willinge and fitt there unto some Hebrue Gramar of Splalter.

The exercises may bee Englishes, speakinge Lattin, variacions, duble translations, disputations, verses, epistells, themes, and declamations in Lattin and Greeke.⁴³

Another system, like the foregoing much like the St. Paul's system and undoubtedly derived from it, was "The Method

⁴⁰ Herbert W. Saunders, *A History of Norwich Grammar School* (Norwich, 1932), p. 138. Saunders gives no support to Leach's conjecture that Alexander Gil was Master of Norwich Grammar School before he came to St. Paul's in 1608. A. F. Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, III, 300.

⁴¹ Recommended by Milton in *Of Education*, Columbia Milton, IV, 281.

⁴² Saunders, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 ff.

⁴³ George A. Stocks, "The Records of Blackburn Grammar School," *Chetham Society*, n.s., LXVI (1909), 74.

of Teaching, which was used in Rotherham School by Mr. Bonner," before Charles Hoole came there to become Master. The method, he says, "is the same that most Schoole-Masters yet use." Hoole's report of the method not only shows how like the system was to that at St. Paul's, but also gives so many hints as to how the system worked in practice that I shall subjoin an abridgment of it.

. . . The custome was, to enter boyes to the Schoole one by one, as they were fit for the Accidents, and to let them proceed therein severally, till so many others came to them, as were fit to be ranked with them in a form. These were first put to read the Accidents, and afterwards made to commit it to memory; which when they had done, they were exercised in construing and parsing the examples in the English Rules, and this was called the first form.

The second form was, To repeat the Accidents for Parts, To say fore-noon Lessons in [Grammar], which they repeated *memoriter*, construed and parsed, To say an after-noon Lesson in *Sententie Pueriles*, which they repeated by heart, and construed and parsed. They repeated their tasks every Friday *memoriter*, and parsed their Sentences out of the English.

The third form was enjoyed first to repeat two parts together every morning out of the Grammar, and each one was made to form one person of a verb Active in any of the four Conjugations. Their fore-noon Lessons were in *Syntaxis*. Their after-noon Lessons were two dayes in *Æsops Fables*, and other two dayes in *Cato*; both which they construed and parsed, and said *Cato memoriter*. These Lessons they translated into English, and repeated all on Fridayes, construing out of their Translations into Latine.

The fourth form having ended *Syntaxis*, first repeated it and formed a person of a verb Passive, as they did the Active before. And so to *Figura* and *Prosodia*. For after-noon Lessons, they read *Terence* two dayes, and *Mantuan* two dayes, which they translated into English, and repeated on Fridayes, as before.

The fifth forme said one part in the Latine, and another in the Greek Grammar together. Their fore-noones in *Butler's Rhetorick*, which they said *memoriter*, and then construed, and applied the example to the definition. Their after-noones Lessons were 2 days in *Ovids Metamorphosis*, & 2 days in *Tullies Offices*, both which they translated into English. They learned to scan and prove verses in *Flores Poetarum*, and repeated their weeks work on Fridayes, as before.

The sixth forme continued in the *Greek Grammar* and read the *Greek Testament* for fore-noones Lessons, beginning with *Saint Johns Gospel*. Their after-noones Lessons were two dayes in *Virgil*, and two dayes in *Tullies Orations*. They construed the *Greek Testament* into Latine, and the rest into English.

The seventh forme went on with the *Greek Grammar*. They had their fore-noones Lessons in *Isocrates*, which they translated into Latin. Their after-noon lessons were 2 dayes in *Horace*, and 2 days in *Seneca's Tragedies*; both which they translated into English.

The eighth forme still continued in the *Greek Grammar*. They said fore-noones Lessons in *Hesiod*; which they translated into Latine, and after-noones Lessons in *Juvenal*, and afterwards in *Persius*, which they translated into English.

The ninth and highest forme said morning parts in the *Hebrew Grammar*, forenoones Lessons in *Homer*, and afternoons Lessons in some *Comical Authour*. . . .

Their Exercises were these: The four lowest formes translated at vacant times, out of some English book. The higher formes, having a subject given them every Saturday, made Themes & Verses upon it, against that day seven night.⁴⁴

Hoole is one of our best sources for information on the theory and practice of the English grammar schools in the early seventeenth century. Another outstanding authority is the schoolmaster and writer of textbooks, John Brinsley, whose *Ludus Literarius* (1612) and *A Consolation for our Grammar Schools* (1622) are worthy of constant quotation. As supplementary information on what went on in other first-rate grammar schools while Milton was a pupil at St. Paul's School, let us read what William Lilly, the astrologer, remembered of his school days at Ashby de la Zouch, where he was sent to the grammar school in 1613 to be instructed by Mr. John Brinsley:

The several Authors I there learned were these, viz *Sententie Pueriles*, *Cato*, *Corderius*, *Æsop's Fables*, *Tully's Offices*, *Ovid de Tristibus*; lastly, *Virgil*, then *Horace*; as also *Camden's Greek Grammar*,

⁴⁴ Charles Hoole, *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, in four small Treatises*, ed., by E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool and London, 1913), pp. 299-303. First edition London, 1660. Hoole says the book was written about twenty-three years before that.

Theognis and *Homer's Iliads*; I was only entered into *Udall's Hebrew Grammar*.

For the last two Years of my being at School, I was of the highest Form in the School, and chiefest of that Form; I could then speak *Latin* as well as *English*; could make *Extempore* Verses upon any Theme; all Kinds of Verses, Hexameter, Pentameter, Phaleuciacks, Iambicks, Sapphicks, &c. so that if any Scholars from remote Schools came to dispute, I was Ringleader to dispute with them.⁴⁵

We may be sure that when John Milton went up to Cambridge from St. Paul's his accomplishments were the same in kind and no less in degree.

But did Milton read as a schoolboy the "auctours Christian" of whom Colet spoke so eloquently in his Statutes of 1518 and whose claims Mr. Leach advances no less eloquently in his study of Milton's school days? Leach has convincingly shown that Milton was well read in Lactantius, Prudentius, and Mantuan, at least, when he came to write his mature poems. Mantuan, alone of the group, appears in seventeenth century curricula (at Rotherham, as we have just seen) and survives in school editions. In spite of lack of evidence he may have been used as an author when Milton was at St. Paul's. Miss Hartwell made a special study of Lactantius and Milton's possible school-day acquaintance with him but reports, "My hope to discover proof of an acquaintance with the Latin Father as early as St. Paul's days has not materialized."⁴⁶ Aside from Colet's mention of the Christian authors I have discovered no surviving shred of evidence that copies of their works were ever in the school library or that they were ever read as school authors at St. Paul's School. To be sure this lack of evidence does not prove that they were not given at least a token recognition as supplementary reading or made the subject

⁴⁵ Mr. William Lilly's *History of His Life and Times, From the Year 1602 to 1681*. Written by himself in the 66th Year of his Age, to his worthy Friend Elias Ashmole, Esqr. . . . The Second Edition, 1715, pp. 5-6. (The first edition also bears the date of 1715.)

⁴⁶ Kathleen Hartwell, *Lactantius and Milton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. viii.

of lectures by the Master. But it has not been proved that Milton read them at school.

Thus Masson, though he seems to have depended more on intuition than on documentary evidence, was very nearly right when he said of St. Paul's curriculum,

Instead of peddling over Sedulius and other such small practitioners of later or middle-aged Latinity, recommended as proper class-books by Colet, the scholars of St. Paul's, as of other contemporary schools, were now led through very much the same list of Roman prose-writers as are still honoured in our academies.⁴⁷

METHODS

If we analyze the methods used in Milton's grammar school, we can fall back on a logical analysis formulated by the earliest Greek thinkers who studied education in the arts: specifically the language arts of rhetoric and poetry. Already by the fourth century B. C. an analysis of those elements which combine to produce effective speakers and writers into nature, art, and exercise had become commonplace.⁴⁸ Protagoras is said to have given the earliest statement of the analysis.⁴⁹ Diogenes Laertius reports, "Aristotle declared three things indispensable for education: natural endowment, study and constant practice."⁵⁰

That this analysis was well known to the Romans and to the teachers and critics of the Renaissance I have shown elsewhere.⁵¹ The men of the Renaissance were more likely to follow Roman rather than Greek leadership in educational theory and nomenclature. Following Cicero⁵² and Quin-

⁴⁷ David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (new and rev. ed., London, 1881), I, 84.

⁴⁸ Paul Shorey, "φύσις, μελέτη, ἐπιστήμη," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XL (1909), 185-197.

⁴⁹ Diels. fr. 10 and 3. Protagoras says φύσις, τέχνη, μελέτη.

⁵⁰ Diog. Laer., V, 18.

⁵¹ "The Requirements of a Poet," *Modern Philology*, XVI (December, 1918), 8.

⁵² *De orat.* I, xxv; *Brut.* VI, 25; *Pro Archia poet.*, I, 1.

tilian ⁵³ they speak of nature (*natura*), art (*ars*) and exercise (*exercitatio*).

But before we go further, a word on what the ancients, and hence Milton's teachers, might mean by these terms. By "nature" they did not mean such irrational faculties as we suggest by the word "genius." The inspired or long-haired poet was to Horace a subject for satire,⁵⁴ as mentally unbalanced. "Nature" rather to them meant the mental, moral, and physical qualities or aptitudes a man was born with. Mentally it included imagination, intelligence, and memory,⁵⁵ as well as special aptitudes for language and rhythm. Morally it included courage, persistence, and industry. Physically it meant health and, for a speaker, a pleasing voice of adequate power and range. From what we know of Milton we may judge that he possessed the aptitudes necessary for success in the practice of the language arts. But neither he nor his teachers were content with his one or more sparks of nature's fire. That was essential, but only as a foundation, something to build on. Next came art.

As used by the ancients the Greek word *techne* and the Latin word *ars* meant the systematically arranged rules or principles of grammar or rhetoric, or, for that matter, of anything that one might learn to do, as carry on war or practice medicine. In school, *ars* meant the rules the boy had to learn from a textbook or from the lectures of his teacher. Indeed *ars* or *arte* often quite simply meant a textbook or a technical treatise. Thus Horace's *Epistle to the Pisos* came to be known as the *Ars Poetica*, and an Englishman, Puttenham, wrote *The arte of English poesie* (1589). Amongst the ancients, Cicero, most clearly, recognized that historically the artist precedes the teacher and the textbook: "With regard to all precepts the case is this, not that orators by ad-

⁵³ Quint. III, v, 1.

⁵⁴ *Ad Pis.*, 295-302, 311-322, 408-418.

⁵⁵ See Gregor Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (1503 ed. prin.), Liber X. Trac. II for woodcut showing location of faculties in brain.

hering to them have attained distinction in eloquence, but that certain persons have noticed what men of eloquence practiced and formed rules accordingly; so that eloquence has not sprung from art, but art from eloquence.”⁵⁶ In fact Greek and Roman teachers felt that the rules of grammar and rhetoric which they taught had special validity because they had been thus “discovered not devised.”

I shall devote a chapter to textbooks Milton studied in order to learn the “arts” of thinking, speaking, and writing. And I say “learn” advisedly, for the traditions of the grammar school required the boy to memorize his Latin grammar, his Greek grammar, and his textbook of rhetoric. In some of the more popular textbooks the rules were put into verse to make memorizing easier. Grammar school teachers who taught Horace, Ovid and Milton knew of course that rules without practice would never teach a boy to be an orator or a poet, but they wanted the rules at the tip of the boy’s tongue. But since the boys were not only to learn to do, but to learn by doing, art must be followed by exercise.

The Greek *melete* and Latin *exercitatio*, should, I think, be translated “exercises” rather than “exercise” if we are to understand the educational procedure involved. Sir Philip Sidney points out why when he says, “Exercise indeede wee doe, but that very forebackwardly: for where we should exercise to know, wee exercise as having knowne.”⁵⁷

The exercises which Milton practiced at St. Paul’s School were essentially the same as those practiced by every Roman boy from Cicero to Boethius. He wrote and spoke innumerable themes and declamations. He read, translated, and paraphrased classical authors set him for imitation. Indeed the imitative exercises were so important in schoolroom practice that as early as 81 B. C. the author of the textbook on

⁵⁶ *De orat.* I, xxxii. Sic esse non eloquentiam ex artificio sed artificium ex eloquentia natum. Translated by J. S. Watson.

⁵⁷ *Apologie* (1595) in G. Gregory Smith, ed., *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, 195.

rhetoric dedicated to C. Herennius (the *Ad Herennium*) made imitation a separate head coördinate with art and exercise :

We may attain success in public speech by means of art, imitation, and exercise. Art gives precepts which provide a certain method and reason in speech. By imitation we are impelled to emulate others in speaking. Exercise is assiduous and habitual practice in speaking.⁵⁸

The practice exercises in speaking and writing were, in the ancient schools, both elementary (*progymnasmata*) and advanced (*declamatio*). The grammar school taught the elementary exercises, as it did in Milton's day. There was so little change over the centuries that the *Progymnasmata* written by the Greek teacher Aphthonius of Antioch in the fourth century, translated into Latin and edited for school use in the sixteenth century, was the most-used laboratory manual for theme writing when Milton was a schoolboy.⁵⁹ The advanced exercise of *declamatio*, taught by the ancients in the schools of rhetoric, were in Milton's day given preliminary treatment in the advanced classes of grammar school but were in general considered more appropriate to the university.⁶⁰ Milton's *Prolusiones quaedam oratoriae*, for instance, were written when he was a student at Cambridge.

Milton summarizes the Renaissance adaptation of ancient educational practice in the *Praefatio* to his Ramian *Logic* :

Exercises are of two sorts: analysis and genesis. We have analysis when examples of an art are resolved so to speak into their principles, so that in their single parts they are examined in the light of the rules, that is of the precepts of the art. We have genesis when according to the precepts of the art we do or make something.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Ad Heren.* I, ii, 3.

⁵⁹ Francis R. Johnson, "Two Renaissance Textbooks of Rhetoric: Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* and Rainolde's *A booke called the Foundation of Rhetorike*," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, VI (August, 1943), 437.

⁶⁰ Brinsley, *Ludus Lit.*, p. 185.

⁶¹ Columbia *Milton*, XI, 14. My translation. For origins of "analysis" and "genesis" in Ramian Logic-Rhetoric, see Baldwin, *Small Latine*, I, 438-439.

For convenience in explaining the educational methods which his schoolmasters used in their efforts to bring Milton up in humane letters I shall devote separate chapters to (1) the textbooks he studied for theory; (2) the authors he was taught to imitate; (3) and the exercises in speaking and writing which he practiced. The reader is urged to bear in mind that this analysis of an organic program of teaching is followed solely as an aid to orderly exposition. In the school itself the methods were alternated, interwoven, and combined every day and every week throughout the years, from the less difficult to the more difficult, reviewing past lessons and preparing for those to come. The master drilled on rules which stated theory, illustrated with the models, assigned themes which would obey the rules and imitate the models. And the whole of grammar school education was devoted to language and literature, not as sciences to be known, but as arts to be practiced. If at the conclusion of the course a boy could not write Latin prose and verse correctly and elegantly, with at least some practice in writing Greek, his teachers had failed to attain their ideal. The best boys, Milton among them, were the choice fruits of the system.

6. Textbooks for Precepts

MILTON's mature view of precepts and examples as means of teaching an art is the same Ramian view which prevailed at St. Paul's School. I shall abridge from the translation of his *Art of Logic* (1672):

The study . . . of all arts is properly known as doctrine or science: doctrine when it teaches the precepts of the arts; science, when the art, which is a sort of habit of mind, is learned from those precepts, and as it were possessed. . . . When it means doctrine, . . . it is the orderly body or scheme of precepts and examples, by which something useful is taught. . . . The precepts of an art are of three kinds: definitions and distributions are the two foremost types. The third, less important, . . . is the explication of some property, usually deduced from a definition. Examples are the things by which the truth of precepts is demonstrated and their use shown. . . . What is taught by precept in the genus is confirmed by an example in the species.¹

William Kempe, a Ramian of an early vintage, in *The Education of Children* (1588) put it more simply thus: "Wherefore first the scholler shall learne the precepts: secondly he shall learne to note the examples in unfolding other mens workes." ²

The study of precepts and examples is included in what the Ramians, including Milton, called Analysis. As Milton put it in the passage which I recently quoted: "We have analysis when examples of an art are resolved so to speak into their principles, so that in their single parts they are examined in the light of the rules, that is the precepts of the art." ³

In the English grammar school, as in most of our schools today, the precepts and examples of such language arts as

¹ *Columbia Milton*, XI, 9-11.

² *The Education of Children in learning: Declared by the Dignity, Utility, and Method thereof*. . . . (London, 1588). F2r.

³ *Columbia Milton*, XI, 14.

grammar and rhetoric were presented to the student by the written word of the textbooks and by the oral explanation of the teacher, and beaten into the boys' heads by classroom drill. Textbooks then as now presented precepts or rules illustrated by examples. When the boys had some understanding of the rules and had memorized them, the process was reversed. In reading school authors the boys were required to parse and construe and tell what rule or precept covered the usage of the author.

"So soon as a boy has learned to read and write, he is ready for the grammar master [*grammatici est locus*]," says Quintilian,⁴ who properly points out that the grammar master has two functions: the explication of authors and the teaching of the rules of grammar, including orthography and the parts of speech. "Boys should begin by learning to decline nouns and verbs: otherwise they will never be able to understand what follows."⁵

The English grammar school was firmly based on Quintilian in that Milton, or any other little boy, was admitted to the first form after he had learned to read and write and was set to learn his parts of speech in Latin grammar. When he subsequently began Greek grammar and Hebrew, he followed the same procedure. I shall now endeavor to introduce the reader to the Latin *Grammar* which Milton used and then the grammars for Greek and Hebrew which he most probably used.

LATIN GRAMMAR

When he was a schoolboy Milton was required by law to study Lily's Latin Grammar, the earliest versions of which had been composed by Lily, and Colet, with some editorial help from Erasmus, between 1510 and 1515 especially for use in St. Paul's School. The revision of 1540, with additions by Thomas Robertson, was the first to become mandatory by royal authority for the realm.

⁴ Quint. I, iv, 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, iv, 22.

Milton used a revision with further alterations issued first in 1574: *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar generally to be used*, bound with *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices cognoscendae ad omnium puerorum utilitatem praescripta*.⁶ Huntington Library copies of the edition of 1584 (printed at London by Francis Flower) and the edition of 1636 (printed at Oxford by William Turner) use the 1574 title page without change. My collation of the editions of 1584 and 1636 shows them to be essentially identical in text. Whatever printing Milton used with his tutor or at St. Paul's School must have presented the same text.

Lily's Grammar continued to be a required textbook during Milton's life and later. The edition of 1584 carries an announcement by

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene . . . Willing thereto and streightlie charging and commanding all and singular Schoole-masters, to whome the charge and teaching of Grammar within this our Realme and Dominions doth appertaine, not to teach your youth and Scholars with anie other Grammar, than with this English Introduction hereafter ensuing, and the Latine Grammar annexed to the same.⁷

A Short Introduction deals with the eight parts of speech, explained in English and illustrated in Latin. The English is set in black letter and the Latin in Roman.

In Lily (1636) the *Shorte Introduction* devotes 40 pages to accidence and 24 pages to syntax (*The Concordes of Latine Speach*) followed by Lily's poem to his pupils, the *Carmen de Moribus*, which refers to Virgil, Terence, and Cicero as Latin authors the boys will study. The treatment of the relative pronoun and its antecedent does not sound a bit old-fashioned.

⁶ The story of the evolution of the Lily Grammar is told by V. J. Flynn in his introduction to the facsimile reprint of the Folger copy of the edition of 1567 (New York, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1945). Flynn gives a fuller treatment in "The Grammatical Writings of William Lily, ?1468-?1523," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVII (New York, 1943), 85-113. *A Short Introduction*, but not the *Brevissima*, is reprinted in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLIV-XLV (1908-9).

⁷ The Short Title Catalog lists, between 1584 and 1633, editions of 1588, 1597, 1599-1603, 1606, 1607, 1621, 1631, and 1634.

When ye have a Relative, aske this question *who* or *what*, and the word that answereth to the question, shall be the antecedent to it. The Antecedent most commonly is a word that goeth before the Relative, and is rehearsed againe of the Relative. The Relative agreeth with his Antecedent in Gender, Number, and Person: as *Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*, That man is wise that speaketh few things or words.⁸

After the *Short Introduction* comes the *Brevissima*, "the Latine Grammar annexed to the same." In the *Brevissima* the explanations as well as the examples are in Latin. The treatment is fuller and more detailed, running to 130 pages. It begins logically with a definition, "*Grammatica est recte scribendi atque loquendi Ars.*" The parts of grammar are four: *Orthographia*, *Etymologia*, *Syntaxis*, *Prosodia*. Orthography, in five pages, touches on the alphabet, abbreviations, the writing of numbers, syllabication, orthoepy, punctuation. Etymology, in 60 pages, deals entirely with accident; the declension and conjugation of the eight parts of speech. Syntax receives 32 pages, 24 to concord and eight to figures of construction: *appositio*, *evocatio*, *syllipsis*, *prolepsis*, *zeugma*, *synthesis*, *antiptosis*, and *synecdoche*.

The greater part of the treatment of accident is presented in the Latin verses of Lily. He put the rules in verse to facilitate memorizing as did Mancinelli, Despauterius, and Farnaby whose verse definitions Gil quotes in his *Logonomia Anglica*. Thus the section on nouns in Lily's grammar is referred to simply as *Propria quae maribus*, the first words of the first verse:

Propria quae maribus tribuuntur, mascula dicas

which Brinsley paraphrastically renders "Proper Nownes which goe under the names of Males or Hees (as we call them) are the Masculine Gender,"⁹ and the section on verbs is referred to by the first three words of the verse which introduces verbs of the first conjugation:

⁸ Holofernes, the school-master in *Loves Labour Lost*, IV, ii, is quoting Lily when he says: "If their sons be ingenious they shall want no instruction. . . . But *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur.*"

⁹ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 75.

As in praesenti, perfectum format in avi,
 Ut no nas navi, vocito.vocitas vocitavi.

The section on prosody, Milton's first official introduction to the rules of versification, occupies 15 pages. After three pages on accent and tone, the grammar explains the feet of classical metrics, with directions and diagrams for scanning the various types of verse, as heroic, elegiac, sapphic, phaleuciac, and iambic, and gives a sound and relatively full treatment of quantity. The grammar concludes with a Latin-English vocabulary of the words used in the text. The following prayer in Latin and in English appears just before the first chapter ("Of a Noun") of *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar generally to be used*. I give the English only.

A Prayer

Almighty Lord and mercifull Father, Maker of heaven and earth, which of thy free liberality givest wisdome abundantly to all that with faith and full assurance aske it of thee, beautify by the light of thy heavenly grace the towardnesse of my wit, the which with all powers of nature thou hast powered into me: that I may not onely understand those things which may effectually bring me to the knowledge of thee and the Lord Jesus our Saviour; but also with my whole heart and will constantly follow the same, and receive daily increase through thy bountyfull goodnesse towards me, as well in good life as doctrine: so that thou which workest all things in all creatures, mayst make thy gracious benefits shine in me, to the endless glory and honour of thine immortall Majestie. So be it.

In *Of Education* (1644) Milton picks no particular quarrel with the Lily Grammar which he had studied at school, for he says of the boys in his ideal school, "First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better."¹⁰ And he assumes that the boys will have been introduced to prosody by their school grammar when he speaks of, "the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of Grammar."¹¹

¹⁰ Columbia *Milton*, IV, 281.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 286.

But some time previous to the publication of his own *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* (1669) he became convinced that Latin grammar should be taught in English not in Latin:

It hath been long a general complaint, not without cause, in the bringing up of Youth, and still is, that the tenth part of a mans life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin Tongue. Which tardy proficiencie may be attributed to several causes: In particular, the making two labours of one, by learning first the Accedence, then the Grammar in Latin, ere the Language of those Rules be understood. The only remedy of this, was to joyn both Books into one, and in the English Tongue; whereby the long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of understanding much more easie.¹²

Prosody he omits from his Grammar with the words: "and Prosodie, after this Grammar well learnt, will not need to be Englisht for him who hath a mind to read it."¹³

Schoolmasters in the seventeenth century, like schoolmasters in every age, were of two kinds: stupid and intelligent. Hence a boy using the *Lily Grammar* under an intelligent master would learn a great deal of Latin without tears and another boy under a stupid master might learn little though painfully. In his *Ludus Literarius* (1612), John Brinsley manages to show both kinds of master at work by writing this treatise on grammar school methods dialog-wise between two experienced teachers who had known one another at college twenty years before. Spoudeus is a wearisome and conscientious drudge and Philoponus is a wise, witty, alert teacher who takes true delight in his profession and hence is a success at it. In other words Philoponus is Brinsley and Spoudeus is his stooge. In Chapter VII the two are represented as discussing "How to make Schollers perfect in the Grammar." Spoudeus explains his method. "As for mine owne selfe, I have onely used to cause my Schollers to learne it without booke, and a little to construe it; and after, to make it as perfect as I can, by oft saying Parts: Finally, in

¹² *Ibid.*, VI, 285.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI, 286.

parsing their lectures to give the rules. This hath been all that I have done." How many of us, alas, can remember teachers of grammar whose method was identical! To this Philoponus, may his tribe increase, replies, "I know that which you mention, to be the most that is done ordinarily: but to say without booke and construe a little, are finally avaiable, unlesse your Scholler be able to shew the meaning and use of his rules." ¹⁴

This emphasis on teaching the boys the meaning of what they learn runs all through Brinsley's treatise on school methods. As he says elsewhere, "For this is a matter which of all other concerneth the credit of Schooles, and furthereth learning wonderfully; to teach Schollers to understand whatsoever they learne, and to be able to give a reason for every thing why it is so." ¹⁵

Applying the principle to the teaching of Lily, he points out the value of illustrating the rules with examples,

Yea, it is very requisite, that here also they should bee able to give the several examples, and in what words the force of each example lyeth; and so to apply the examples to the rules, to the end that they may doe the like by them, in parsing, or in making Latine. And moreover, in Nounes and Verbes, to be able not onely to decline them, and to give English to the Latine words; but the Latine words also to the English. ¹⁶

That these suggestions are not merely the theory of a progressive reformer of education is shown by the similar and even more explicit directions to the teacher contained in the address *To the Reader* which appears as a foreword to all editions of Lily from 1546. ¹⁷ The directions for the best method of teaching follow:

The first and chieftest point is, that the diligent Master make not the Scholar haste too much; but that he in continuance and diligence of teaching, make him to rehearse so, that till he hath perfectly that which is behind, he suffer him not to go forward, for this posting haste overthroweth and hurteth a great sort of wits, and casteth them into an

¹⁴ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁷ Baldwin, *Small Latine*, II, 700 for the date.

amazednesse, when they know not how they shall either go forward or backward, but stick fast as one plunged, that cannot tell what to do, or which way to turn him: and then the Master thinketh the Scholar to be a dullard, and the Scholar thinketh the thing to be uneasie, and too hard for his wit.

We can readily see how the slow pace, frequent repetition, and constant review, well fitted to the abilities of the majority of the boys, must have galled and irritated Milton and led him in *Of Education* to make the amazing and reckless assertion, "First we do amiss to spend seven or eight years meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latine and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year."¹⁸

Aubrey notes that Milton as schoolmaster made the Phillips boys capable of interpreting a Latin writer at sight in a year's time, but St. Paul's School in seven or eight years succeeded in teaching Milton not merely to read Latin but to speak it and to write Latin and Greek poetry and prose.

But we will continue with the professional schoolmaster's directions for teaching the *Lily Grammar* as they are presented in *To the Reader*:

In going forward, let him have of every declension of Nounes and conjugation of Verbs, so many several examples as they passe them; that it may seem to the Schoolmaster, no word in the Latine tongue be so hard for that part, as the Scholar shall not be able, praisably to enter into the forming thereof. And surely the multitude of examples (if the easiest and commonest be taken first, and so come to the stranger and harder) must needs bring this profit withall, that the Scholar shall best understand, and soonest conceive the reason of the rules, and best be acquainted with the fashion of the tongue. Wherein it is profitable, not only that he can orderly decline his Nounes and his Verb; but every way, forward, backward, by cases, by persons: that neither case of Nounes, nor person of Verb can be required, that he cannot without stop or study tell. And untill this time I count not the Scholar perfect, nor readie to goe any further, till he hath this already learned.

This when he can perfectly doe, and hath learned every part, not by rote, but by reason, and is more cunning in the understanding of the

¹⁸ Columbia *Milton*, IV, 277.

thing, then in rehearsing of the words (which is not past a quarter of a yeares diligence, or very little more, to a painfull and diligent man, if the Scholar have a mean wit) then let him passe to the Concords, to know the agreement of parts among themselves, with like way and diligence as is afore described.

Wherein plain and sundry examples, and continuall rehearsall of things learned, and specially the daily declining of a Verb, and turning him into all fashions, shall make the great and heavy labour so easie and so pleasant for the framing of sentences, that it will be rather a delight unto them, that they be able to do well, then pain in searching of an unused and unacquainted thing.¹⁹

The revisers of the authorized *Grammar*, like the original authors and editors, Colet, Lily, and Erasmus, believed that as soon as possible a boy should begin using his knowledge of Latin to read authors. Once the boys had mastered *Propria quae maribus* and *As in praesenti*, they were to learn Latin grammar so far as possible from the use thereof by Latin writers, with the assistance of the rules in the *Grammar* whenever necessary. Thus, as the following passage from *To the Reader* indicates, they were to acquire both moral edification and a correct and idiomatic command of Latin from the examples offered by the author studied. As we have seen the authors for the lowest forms were Lily's *Car-men de Moribus* and Cato, *Disticha Moralia*:

When these Concords be well known unto them (an easie and pleasant paine, if the fore-grounds be well and thoroughly beaten in) let them not continue in learning of their rules orderly, as they lie in their Syntax, but rather learne some pretty book, wherein is contained not only the eloquence of the tongue, but also a good plain lesson of honesty and godlinesse; and thereof take some little sentence as it lieth, and learne to make the same first out of English into Latine, not seeing the booke, or construing it thereupon. And if there fall any necessary rule of the Syntax to be known, then to learn it, as the occasion of the sentence giveth cause that day: which sentence once made well, and as nigh as may bee with the words of the book, then to take the book and construe it; and so shall he be lesse troubled with the parsing of it, and easiest carry his lesson in mind.

¹⁹ *To the Reader*, the third and fourth pages.

Milton, in *Of Education*, is in complete agreement with the general principle just stated when he says, "Next to make them expert in the usefullest points of Grammar, and withall to season them, and win them early to the love of vertue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement, or vain principle seise them wandering, some easie and delightful book of Education would be read to them."²⁰

The author of *To the Reader*, like most experienced schoolmasters, urged a slower progress, more repetition, more frequent review drills than seem to have pleased Milton. But the experienced masters were convinced that the foundation in grammar should be solid before the boys proceeded to the "making of Latens," which included first translations from English into Latin and later original composition, oral and written, in Latin.

I would, all their time they be at school, they should never be idle, but alwayes occupied in a continuall rehearsing and looking back again to those things they have learned, and be more bound to keep their old, then to take forth any new.

Thus if the Master occupie them, he shall see a little lesson take a great deal of time; and diligently enquiring and examining of the parts and the rules, not to be done so quickly and speedily as it might be thought to be: within a while, by this use, the scholar shall be brought to a good kind of readinesse of making, to the which if there be adjoined some use of speaking (which must necessirily bee had) he shall be brought past the wearisome bitterness of his learning.

A great help to further this readinesse of making and speaking shall be, if the Master give him an English book, and cause him ordinarily to turne every day some part into Latine. This exercise cannot be done without his rules, and therefore doth establish them, and grounde them surely in his minde for readinesse, and maketh him more able to speak suddenly, whensoever any present occasion is offered for the same. And it doth help his learning more a great deal, to turn out of English into Latine, then on the contrary.

Furthermore, wee see many can understand Latine, that cannot speak it; and when they reade the Latine word in the booke, can tell you the English therof at any time: but when they have laid away their booke, they cannot contrariwise tell you for the English the

²⁰ Columbia *Milton*, IV, 281.

Latine again, whensoever you will ask them. And therefore this exercise helpeth this sort well, and maketh those words which he understandeth, to be readier by use unto him, and so perfecteth him in the tongue handsomely.

These precepts well kept, will bring a man clean past the use of this Grammar-book, and make him as ready as his book, and so meet for further things: whereof it were out of season to give precepts here. And therefore this may be for this purpose enough, which to good Schoolmasters and skilfull is not so needfull: to other meaner and less practised it may be, not onely worth the labour of reading, but also of the using.

In his *Ludus Literarius* Brinsley gives very full directions for carrying on a lesson in grammar; "to help the weakest teacher, for whom I have set downe the more examples," he even gives the exchange of question and answer between master and scholar. With the indulgence of my reader I shall abridge somewhat in my report on the model lesson:

After, at the saying of their rules, when they have said without booke and construed; to labour especially to cause them to be able to answer, without booke, each part of the rule, and that both in English and in Latine together, after they are a little entered; that with the meaning and English, you may beate the Latine into their heads also, to helpe to prepare them to speake and parse in Latine.

Let the manner of apposing be . . . by short questions, propounded unto them, arising directly out of the words of the book, . . . and withall, the examples of the rule, and how to apply them to the severall rules.

I will set you downe an example or two more at large, that you may doe the like the more easily. To begin at *Propria quae maribus* . . .

Then appose . . . keeping strictly the words of the booke, only putting in here or there, a word or two, to make the question; which by oft repeating, they will easily understand. As thus, out of the words set before the rule:

Q. Where begin your generall rules of Proper Nowns? *Ubi incipiunt regulae generales propriorum?*

A. *Propria quae maribus.*

Q. How many generall rules are there of proper Nowns? *Quot sunt regulae generales propriorum?*

A. Two: *Duae.*

Q. What is your first rule? *Quae est prima regula?*

A. *Propria quae maribus, &c.*

Q. How many kinds of Proper names are there of the Masculine Gender? *Quot sunt genera propriorum nominum masculini generis?*

A. *Quinq.*; five. *Mascula sunt nomina Divorum, virorum, fluviorum, mensium, ventorum.* Names of Gods, Men, Floods or Rivers, Moneths, Winds.

Q. *Cuius generis dicas, Propria quae maribus tribuuntur?* What Gender are all Nownes, or names of Hees, or of the Male kind?

A. *Masculae*, or *masculini generis*.

Q. *Cuius generis sunt nomina Divorum?*

A. *Masculini*.

Q. *Quomodo dicis Latine?* The God of Battaile?

A. *Mars, hic Mars, Martis.*²¹

If the gentle reader finds this lesson a bit dull, let him turn to his Shakespeare and read in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV, 1, a burlesque posing of the parts which, for all its intended absurdities, may be more realistic than Brinsley's model lesson.

GREEK GRAMMAR

Nicholas Carlisle, writing in 1818, says of the grammar textbooks used at St. Paul's School:

The Latin Grammar which is used, is that of Lily corrected by Ward. And the Greek Grammar, that of Camden or the Westminster. It is to the honour of St. Paul's School, that the principal Grammars for the study of the Latin and the Greek Languages, throughout the Kingdom, should have been the Works of its Founder and First Master and of Camden, who was one of its Scholars.²²

As an old Pauline himself William Camden (1550–1623) was highly thought of, and justly, by his old school. Hence his Greek Grammar in all likelihood was made the

²¹ *Ludus Lit.*, pp. 74–76. For the most part in English, the same procedure is illustrated in Brinsley's, *The posing of the parts: or, A most plaine and easie way of examining the accidence and grammar, by questions and answers, arising directly out of the rules . . .* [First ed. 1611], "The seventh edition . . . 1630," p. 87. Plimpton copy.

²² *Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* (London, 1818), p. 85.

basic text for class use quite soon after the publication of the first edition in 1595. In 1612 Brinsley prefers it to all others "because, as it is one of the shortest as yet, so it is most answerable to our Latine Grammar, for the order of it. Whereby schollers wel acquainted with our common Grammar [i. e., Lily] wil be much helped both for speedy understanding and learning it."²³ And in 1622 Brinsley says, praising as he describes:

For the Grammar, Maister *Camdens* is of all other most easie and profitable (as I take it) like as for Westminster, so for all our schooles; for that it followes the order of our Latine Grammar most directly, chiefly in the Syntax, wherein many of the rules are the very same, or neare unto them. The Anomalies in the Verbs being set alphebetically, so as they may be found very readily; and the Dialects set directly after the order of the Declensions and Conjugations, that by it alone well studied, most difficulties may be easilie understood and answered.²⁴

Foster Watson says of Greek grammars in England:

Roughly speaking, the history of the school teaching of Greek may be divided into the two periods marked by the predominance of I. The *Greek Grammar* of Clenard up to 1597. II. Camden's *Greek Grammar*, 1597-1647 . . . Camden's *Greek Grammar* was grounded on the work of the predecessor of Camden as Head-master of Westminster School, viz. Edward Grant's *Graecae Linguae spicilegium* . . . 1575.²⁵

In 1583 the library of St. Paul's School had a copy of Clenard listed as "Commentar. Antesignani in Clenardi Gram. Graec." ²⁶ The *Institutiones in Linguam Graecam* of Nicholas Clenardus was published in 1530.²⁷ The earliest edition with the commentary of Antesignani which I have seen noted is that of 1557 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

²³ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 225. ²⁴ *A Consolation for Our Grammar Schools*, p. 72.

²⁵ *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, England, 1908), pp. 500, 502.

²⁶ R. B. Gardiner, *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School* (London, 1884), p. 452.

²⁷ Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

The edition of 1594, after ten pages on orthography, proceeds to 200 pages on accidence. Then comes the commentary of 85 pages on irregular and imperfect verbs, five pages on syntax, and 10 pages on accents. Finally there is a Praxis of 65 pages. The Praxis gives the Greek text, interlinear translation in Latin, and scholia for: The Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Grace Before Meat, and After, Apostle's Creed; the Argument of the *Orestes* of Euripides and a brief scene from the *Electra*; samples from Aristophanes, Hesiod, Homer, the *Third Idyll* of Theocritis (about Amaryllis), and Pindar's *Olympia*. This sampling of the poets, with grammatical translations into Latin, helps us to see how the Greek poets were introduced to the boys in a grammar school.

A copy of Grant's *Greek Grammar*, upon which Camden's was grounded, also seems to have been in the Library of St. Paul's School before the fire and probably during Milton's school days. It still survives, if we can trust the olfactory nerves of McDonnell, who writes: "There is no doubt to this day that the smell of fire has passed over a few books in the school library, notably a copy of Edward Grant's Westminster Greek Grammar of 1575." ²⁸

The Huntington Library copy of this same edition has larger pages, larger type, and better paper than became usual in schoolbooks of a later date. It is entitled *Graecae Linguae Spicilegium . . . in quatuor Horrea collectum*. Grant's "Gleaning of Greek Grammar into four graneries" is much more of a schoolbook for boys learning Greek grammar than is Clenardus, who had his proper place in the library for reference by boys in the upper forms or by the masters. Grant presents his material in a series of questions and answers to facilitate memorizing. Orthography has 22 pages; Etymology, 110; Syntax, 32; and Prosody, 33. It concludes with three pages of exhortation addressed to the *studiosi pueri*.

William Camden's Greek Grammar, which was grounded

²⁸ *History of St. Paul's School* (London, 1909), p. 267.

on Grant's and supplanted it, is entitled *Institutio Graecae Grammatices Compendaria*.²⁹

Camden is most businesslike. He does not address the reader, the teacher, the boys, or a patron. He opens with the alphabet and goes on from there. He gives 87 pages to the parts of speech (accidence) of which 10 are devoted to the anomalies of the verb set alphabetically, the arrangement which pleased Brinsley so much, and gives 54 pages to full paradigms of the verb forms. Syntax he treats in 12 pages, the figures of grammar in five, and the Greek dialects in 14. The book concludes with a simple and useful Greek-Latin vocabulary of 51 pages. Then comes the same picture of the children picking apples while their books lie on the ground that appears at the end of the Common Latin Grammar. Lest three pages be left blank and unused the printer has filled them with an essay on the Greek names of the months, drawn from the Appendix of Stephanus' Thesaurus.

In summing up Milton's relations with Greek grammar while he was a schoolboy, we are quite safe in assuming that he had consulted Clenardus and Grant in the school library and that he owned a copy of Camden which he studied, memorized, and recited two to four mornings a week for three years in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Forms.

HEBREW GRAMMAR

As we have seen, the St. Paul's curriculum of the late seventeenth century calls for "A Part in Hebrew Psalter or Grammar" in the morning for the Eighth Form. Other school curricula which call for Hebrew envisage no more extensive study than a year. Obviously little Hebrew could be learned in so short a time. But the boys could at least get a smattering which prepared them to take up seriously the study of the Hebrew Scriptures at the University in preparation for careers in the Church.

²⁹ Milton would have used the edition of 1595, 1604, 1608, or 1617. (*S.T.C.* 4511-4514.)

We know that Milton learned his Latin grammar from Lily; we have the strongest reasons for believing that he learned Greek grammar from Camden; but we have no direct evidence whatever for the grammar which introduced him to Hebrew. Indeed the ever helpful Brinsley suggests that no one Hebrew grammar was in use throughout the realm. The teacher might use whatever Hebrew grammar he had himself studied. "Every one may take for his owne use what Grammar he hath learned, or is most familiarly acquainted with, and supply out of others what is wanting therein." ³⁰

Brinsley recommends most highly the Hebrew Grammar of Martinus and Udall's adaptation of it in English. William Lilly the astrologer, who was a pupil of Brinsley's between 1613 and 1619, says, "I was only entered into Udall's *Hebrew Grammar*." ³¹ From which we may infer that Brinsley used Udall in his own school and that even a bright boy like Lilly did not get very far in Hebrew. Brinsley gives as his reasons for recommending Martinus the following:

1. For that it is most methodicall, proceeding according to the right order of Nature and rules of Art.

2. For that it hath answering unto it, Maister *Udals* Hebrue Grammar in English, being in effect a meere translation of *Martinus*, onely leaving out some things which he thought lesse necessary, and making most things in *Martinus* very plaine.

3. For that the *Martinus* Grammar printed by *Raphalengius* and by *Abrahamus VVeerlinus* at *Berne*, have a *Praxis* adjoyned, for the parsing of three Psalmes, viz. the 1. 25. and 68, like as Maister *Udals* hath in English: which *Praxis* is so orderly for the right examining or analysing of every word according to the order of nature and art, and according as all things are set downe in the Grammar in order of the Chapters, that they leade the learner directly, as by the hand, to the plaine parsing and resolving of those three *Psalms*; and by them, any other part of the Hebrue Bible.

And lastly, for that Maister *Udals* Grammar, (which I commend as a short Commentarie to it) hath also a briefe Epitome of the Hebrue

³⁰ Brinsley, *A Consolation*, p. 75.

³¹ Mr. William Lilly's *History of his Life and Times*, p. 5.

Lexicon adjoynd, for the more speedy finding out any word, and for attaining the tongue.

Or in stead of *Martinius*, Maister *Udals* Grammar itself, which I finde to be farre more easie for the learner, and much sooner gotten, for the use of it, and also may be readily delivered and uttered in Latine, at least by comparing with *Martinius*.³²

RHETORIC

There is no conclusive evidence at all to tell us which particular textbook of rhetoric Milton memorized at St. Paul's School. But an accumulation of evidence does point out the kind of textbook it was, and limits the field to a few authors. As we have seen, according to the Ramian tradition, rhetoric in Milton's school days meant the rhetorical figures—the schemes and tropes. The *inventio* and *dispositio* of classical rhetoric were considered to belong to logic, or in Ramian terms, *dialectica*. In the grammar schools they were taught through the exercises of Aphthonius, which I analyze in a later chapter.³³

Probably the most popular textbook of rhetoric in Milton's school days was the *Rhetorica* of Talaëus, which Milton may well have used, or he may have used an abridgment of Talaëus by Charles Butler, or, indeed, he may have used the Tropes and Figures of Thomas Farnaby, who was so closely connected by friendship with the Gils, both father and son.

Praising Butler's *Rhetoricae* in his *Ludus Literarius*, (1612) Brinsley says:

For answering the questions of Rhetoricke, you may if you please, make them perfect in Talaëus Rhetorick, which I take to be most used in the best Schooles; only to give each definition and distribution, and some one example or two at most in each Chapter; and those of the shortest sentences out of the Poets: so that they can give the word or words, wherein the force of the rule is. . . .

Claudius Minos Commentary may bee a good helpe to make Talaëus Rhetoricke most plaine, both for precepts and examples. . . .

³² Brinsley, *A Consolation*, pp. 75–76.

³³ See p. 230 ff.

Or in stead of Talaeus, you may use Master Butlers Rhetoricke, of Magadalens in Oxford, printed in Oxford; which I mentioned before: being a notable abbridgement of Talaeus, making it most plaine, and farre more easie to be learned of Schollars, and also supplying very many things wanting in Talaeus. Both it and the Commentary together, are almost as small as Talaeus alone, and not much a greater price, though the worth be double. It is a booke, which (as I take it) is yet very little knowne in Schooles, though it have beene forth sundry yeares, set forth for the use of Schooles; and the use and benefit will be found to be farre above all that ever hath beene written of the same.³⁴

Charles Butler's abridgement of Talaeus, his *Rhetoricae Libri Duo*, appeared in four editions before Milton left St. Paul's for Cambridge: a first of 1598, a second of 1600, a third now lost, and a fourth of 1618.³⁵ After Milton left school there was an enlarged and revised edition of 1629.

In abridging Talaeus's *Rhetorica*, Butler omits a good many passages of philosophical discussion and qualification. But he keeps close to Talaeus' definitions, for the most part reproducing them verbatim.

Talaeus follows Quintilian in defining rhetoric: "*Rhetorica est ars bene dicendi.*" Butler follows this. In the Preface to his *Logic* Milton follows Quintilian, Talaeus, and Butler when he says we study the arts of speech "*vel ad bene loquendum, ut Grammatica, vel ad dicendum bene, ut Rhetorica.*"³⁶

Of the parts of rhetoric Talaeus says: "*Partes Rhetoricae duae sunt: Elocutio & Pronunciatio. Elocutio est exornatio orationis. . . . Elocutio est tropus aut figura. Tropus est elocutio, qua verbum a nativa significatione in aliam immutatur.*" In 1598 Butler repeats this verbatim.

A similar situation develops with the "second part of rhet-

³⁴ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 204.

³⁵ *Rhetoricae/Libri duo/quorum/Prior de Tropis & Figuris,/Posterior de Voce & Gestu./Praecipit/In usum scholarum accuratius edita. Oxoniae/Excudebat Josephus Barnesius./M.D.XCVIII.* (S.T.C. 4197, 8 & 9.) The four editions were revisions of *Rameae Rhetoricae Libri Duo*, Oxford, 1597. See Hoyt Hudson in his edition of Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style* (Princeton, 1935), p. xxvi.

³⁶ *Columbia Milton*, XI, 16.

oric." Talaeus says: "Elocutionis (quae prima pars facta est artis Rhetoricae) praecepta in Tropis & figuris exposita sunt: veniamus ad Pronunciationem, partem alteram institutae artis, & doctrina. Pronunciatio est apta elocutionis enunciatio." Butler repeats this.

In one respect, the treatment of metrics, Butler differs greatly from Talaeus. In place of the two pages Talaeus gives, Butler gives twenty pages in 1598. Butler also introduces the innovation of illustrating *rhythmus* (accentual or non-quantitative verse) with two stanzas from Spenser's *Ruines of Time*.³⁷ Other English poets named in the notes are Daniel, Drayton, and Chaucer.

The pages on quantitative verse [*De metro*] would be a great aid to Milton or any other boy who was being started by his schoolmasters at the task of writing verses in Latin. The age was not so primitive as Rand suggests,³⁸ nor need we imagine that Milton "had merely absorbed all the niceties of Ovid's art without cataloguing them." Milton did not need to catalogue them. The cataloguing was done by the schoolmasters in classroom and textbook and at great length, not only by Butler but by Milton's own High Master, Alexander Gil.

Or, as I have said, it is also possible that Milton may have learned Farnaby's definitions of the schemes and tropes while he was a schoolboy. In 1622 Brinsley was praising Farnaby for his treatment of rhetoric: "For Tropes and Figures of Rhetoricke, and so for other figures of Grammar, Maister *Farnabees* Tropes and figures, so shortly comprized in verse, as that they may be most easily gotten in a very little time, and so likewise kept in memorie, to serve for every good use." ³⁹ The Tropes and Figures in verse, which Brinsley knew in 1622 may now be found in Farnaby's *Index Rhe-*

³⁷ Published in *Complaints*, 1591. The verses quoted are 400-407, and 428-434. They celebrate the power of poetry to immortalize.

³⁸ E. K. Rand, "Milton in Rustication," *The University of North Carolina Studies in Philology*, XIX (1922), p. 111.

³⁹ *A Consolation*, p. 77.

toricus, the first surviving edition of which is dated 1625.

But Farnaby's Tropes and Figures must have been published some time earlier. Alexander Gil was quoting Farnaby's verse definitions of rhetorical figures in 1619 in the first edition of his *Logonomia Anglica*. Indeed Gil strongly favored definitions in verse as an aid to memory. He quotes four definitions from the *Carmen de Figures* of Antonio Mancinelli of Veletri.⁴⁰ He also quotes verse definitions from the *De Figures* of Joannes Despauterius.⁴¹ But to these he prefers the verse definitions of Farnaby. Thus on the subject of Polysyndeton Gil writes:

Polysyndeton, sive ut placet Despauterio Polysyntheton, sic ille definitur:

"Copula multiplicata facit Polysyntheton usque."

sed multò meliùs amantissimus nostri Farnabeius:

"Conjunctura frequens vocum Polysyndeton esto."

In addition to the definition of Polysyndeton which Gil quotes from "our very dear friend Farnaby," he quotes the following definition of Periphrasis from the same Farnaby:

"Rem circumloquitur per plura περιφρασις unam."

He also quotes the allusive descriptions of Pragmatographia, Topographia, Prosographia, Pathographia, Chronographia and Enargia in the verses:

"Res, loca, personas, affectus tempora gesta:

Characterismus dilucidat, explicat, ornat." ⁴²

as well as the definition of Synaeresis:

"Syllaba de binis confecta, Synaeresis extat." ⁴³

⁴⁰ I have checked Gil against the 1498 Venice edition of Mancinelli, *Carmen de floribus. De figuris. De poetica virtute*. Gil quotes definitions of Hyperbola (Gil, 98; Manc. lviii); Antiphrasis (Gil, 100; Manc. lxvii); Epanalepsis (Gil, 109; Manc. xxxvi) and Hyperbaton (Gil, 115; Manc. lix).

⁴¹ The earliest edition the *de figures* listed by the BM catalog is 1520. I have used the Aberdeen edition of 1623. Gil quotes Despauterius on Polysyndeton (Gil, 107; Desp. 40); Zeugma (Gil, 104; Desp. 40); Homoeoteleuton (Gil, 113; Desp. 41); and Antitheton (Gil, 117; Desp. 47).

⁴² *Logonomia Anglica* p. 106.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Supporting evidence for the conjecture that Farnaby's *Tropes* was used as a textbook for Rhetoric at St. Paul's School while Milton was a pupil is the friendship of the younger Gil and Farnaby attested to by the verses which Gil sent Farnaby with the skin of Canary wine, in 1624. In the preface to ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ, Gil states that he had taught at Farnaby's school, a statement which Wood is quoting when he states that he "became an usher under his father in S. Paul's school, and under Tho. Farnabie the famous school-master in Goldsmith's Rents." ⁴⁴ He received his M.A. in 1619 and did not go as usher to St. Paul's until 1621, which strengthens the conjecture that he taught for Farnaby between 1619 and 1621. ⁴⁵

Although Milton does not mention Farnaby by name, he owned a copy of Farnaby's *Systema Grammaticum* (1641) and made some annotations. ⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (1815), II, 42.

⁴⁵ McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, p. 185.

⁴⁶ Columbia *Milton*, XVIII, 346, 573.

7. *Authors for Imitation*

IN HIS *De doctrina Christiana*, St. Augustine proclaims the value of imitating models in teaching and learning. "If one has a keen and fervid talent [*ingenium*] he will more easily acquire eloquence by reading and hearing the eloquent than by following the precepts of eloquence."¹

In his school rhetoric, *Manuductio ad Artem Rhetoricam* (1621), Thomas Vicars quotes this passage from St. Augustine with approval.² In further praise of imitation, Vicars cites Quintilian, Cicero, Keckermann, Dresser, Alstedius, Sturm, Vives, Soarez. He concludes with special praise for the treatment of Analysis by Thomas Freigius—that Analysis, which with Genesis, makes up the famous Methodus of the Ramians.³

The place of imitation in the Ramian Methodus is made clear by Charles Butler in his *Oratoriae Libri Duo* (1629).

Exercise consists in Genesis and Analysis. It is Genesis when we compose our own orations according to the precepts of Art and in imitation of the Orators. It is Analysis when we take apart [*resolvimus*] the orations of others, observing in them what rules of Art are followed and what virtues of the authors are worthy of imitation. It is Imitation when we copy the method [*rationem*] of speaking of another. There are two rules in Imitation: that we should imitate those who are excellent and those qualities in them which are excellent.⁴

¹ *De doct. Christ.*, IV, iii.

² χειραγωγή *Manuductio ad Artem Rhetoricam*, Ante paucos annos in privatum quorundam Scholarium usum concinnata, nunc vero in studiosae juventutis universae gratiam publice juris facta. Opera & studio Thomae Vicarsi in Artibus Magistri & Coll: Regin: Oxon: Socij. Londini Typis Augustini Matthaei Anno Domini (1621). Not a Ramian rhetoric it follows Wilson in giving rhetoric five parts. It is highly recommended by Brinsley, *A Consolation*, p. 78. I quote from the Columbia University microfilm of the BM copy of Vicars, p. 101. On sig. A3v, he cites the 1553 Cologne ed. of St. Augustine.

³ For Milton and others on Analysis and Genesis see pp. 129-131.

⁴ *Oratoriae libri duo. Quorum Alter eius Definitionem, Alter Partitionem Explicat: In usum scholarum recens editi.* Authore Carolo Butlero, Magd. Oxionae Excudebat Guilielmus Turner, impensis Authoris. 1629. Epilogus.

But faith in imitation as a teaching method was not in origin Ramian. It was held universally in antiquity, at least from the time of Isocrates, whose statement in favor of it is the earliest that survives.⁵ In planning for St. Paul's School both Erasmus and Colet had made both clear and emphatic that, valuable as the rules and precepts might be, the reading, understanding, and imitating of good Latin authors, poets, historians and orators, avail more in teaching a boy to speak and write clear Latin.⁶

Roger Ascham, in his *The Scholemaster*, sings in the same choir. I quote three several detached passages: "And surelie, one example, is more valiable, both to good and to ill, than XX preceptes written in Bookes." And again, "For without doubt *Grammatica* it selfe, is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors, than by naked rewles of *Grammarians*." And, "But to our purpose all languages, both learned and mother tonges, be gotten, and gotten onelie by Imitation."⁷

All those whose testimony in favour of imitation I have presented have spoken as teachers of boys and young men. They were not concerned with imitation as a principle in the literary practice of mature poets and prose writers. It is true that the use of imitation in the grammar schools in antiquity and in the Renaissance did have a great influence on literature. Both in theory and practice Renaissance literature is notoriously imitative. The mature writings of Milton are no exception. But that is another story which I shall not endeavor to tell in this study of Milton's grammar school education. It is told elsewhere.⁸

⁵ J. W. H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity* (Cambridge, England, 1934), I, 128. Isocrates' statement is in *Against the Sophists*, 17-18.

⁶ My quotations from *De rat. stud.* and *Aeditio* appear on pp. 103-104.

⁷ Written between 1563 and 1568; first published in 1570. The quotations are from the Edward Arber reprint, London, 1870, pp. 66, 110, 117.

⁸ D. L. Clark, "The Requirements of a Poet," *Modern Philology*, XVI (December, 1918), 77-93; C. S. Baldwin, *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (New York, 1939); H. O. White, *Plagiarism and Imitation during the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935); W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance*, (New York, 1937), Chap. VI.

Nor did the schoolmasters who taught Milton and wrote the textbooks he used concern themselves with those metaphysical concepts of imitation discussed by Plato and Aristotle. They were not concerned with the imitation of ideal truth, with the imitation of appearances, true or false, with the imitation of men in action.⁹

Their aim was to teach boys to speak and write the "clene and chast laten" urged by Colet in his statutes for St. Paul's School. This was not the Latin of the Middle Ages, which had departed from classical usage. It was "the olde laten spech and the varay Romaine tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was usid."

Their secondary aim was to direct the boys to the rhetoric as well as to the grammar of classical Latin. They were to write epistles and declamations, verses and orations, also in imitation of classical writers. The more nearly original of these imitative exercises will be discussed in the next chapter which will deal with the themes the boys wrote. This chapter will deal for the most part with the basic and introductory exercises based almost slavishly on the school authors. Indeed it might sometimes seem that the schoolmasters in their teaching of the elementary exercises in imitation failed to distinguish carefully between borrowing and theft. For the boys were constantly urged to take words, phrases, figures of speech and figures of thought, and turns of idea as well as turns of expression, from the models they were imitating.

The classical distinction between borrowing and theft is made by Cicero in *Brutus*, when he apostrophises Ennius, who had freely used the work of the earlier poet Naevius: "You who, if you acknowledge it, have borrowed [*sumpsisti*] so much from Naevius, or if you deny it, have stolen [*surripuisti*] it."¹⁰ But if surreptitious and unacknowledged

⁹ The various semantic contents of "imitation" are carefully differentiated by Richard McKeon in "Literary Criticism and the Concept of Imitation in Antiquity," *Modern Philology*, XXXIV (August, 1936), 1-35.

¹⁰ *Brutus*, XIX, 76. H. O. White, *Plagiarism*, quotes Cranmer, John Hooper and Puttenham in their hostility to literary theft, on a mature artistic level,

use of another's thoughts and words is the mark of literary theft, then English schoolboys were not taught to steal. There was nothing surreptitious about schoolboy use of the authors whom they studied and imitated.

WHICH AUTHORS TO IMITATE

"What authors ought to be read by beginners?" asks Quintilian.

Some have recommended inferior writers, as they thought them easier of comprehension; others have advocated the more florid kind of writers as being better adapted to nourish the minds of the young. For my part I would have the best authors commenced at once and read always; but I would choose the clearest in style and most intelligible . . . Cicero, as it seems to me, is agreeable even to beginners and sufficiently intelligible, and may not only benefit the boys but be loved by them: and next to Cicero, as Livy advises, such authors as most resemble Cicero.¹¹

And in a later book he writes, "It has come to pass that Cicero has become not the name of a man but the name of eloquence itself. To him, therefore, let us look, let him be held up as our model, let that student who greatly admires Cicero know that he has made progress."¹² In the margin of his copy of Quintilian, Petrarch noted his approval of this lavish praise of Cicero as a model for eloquence.¹³ Later humanists, Barzizza, Longolius, and Bembo, made a cult of the slavish imitation of Cicero. They believed that only the most excellent should be imitated, and that since Cicero was most excellent, then only Cicero should be imitated by those who would speak and write excellent Latin.¹⁴

not by schoolboys. The classical loci are in Martial, *Epigrams*, i, 52, 53 (He called Fidentius a "plagiarius," kidnapper); and Horace, *Epistles*, i, 3, 11. 15-20 (who warns of the crow who adorned himself with peacock feathers).

¹¹ Quint., II, v, 18-20. J. S. Watson's translation.

¹² *Ibid.*, X, i, 112.

¹³ P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (new ed., Paris, 1907), II, 92. Sturm quotes the passage with approval. See Milton's translation, *Columbia Milton*, IV, 2.

¹⁴ Th. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1912), pp. 179-186.

To combat this heresy Erasmus wrote his *Ciceronianus* (1528),¹⁵ which bears out what we have seen in his *De ratione studii* that Erasmus was by no means opposed to imitation as an exercise to help teach Latin, but that he believed that imitation should not be restricted to one man alone, not even to Cicero alone. But the heresy thrived none the less, in England under Roger Ascham, the devoted follower of the German Ciceronian, John Sturm.¹⁶

But Quintilian had urged the emphasis on Cicero, and authors who resemble Cicero, only for the younger boys in school. For older students he is firmly against the imitation of one model, even of Cicero:

I should not advise any one to devote himself entirely to any one model so as to imitate him in all respects. Of all the Greek orators Demosthenes is by far the most perfect. Yet others, on some occasions, have spoken better, as he has on most occasions. But he who deserves to be imitated is not the only one to be imitated. 'What then,' the reader may ask, 'is it not sufficient to speak on every subject as Cicero spoke?' To me, assuredly, it would be sufficient, if I could attain all his excellences. Yet what disadvantage would it be to assume occasionally the energy of Caesar, the asperity of Caelius, the accuracy of Pollio, the judgement of Calvus? For apart from the fact that a wise student should make if possible whatever is excellent in each author his own, it is also to be considered that if, in a matter of such difficulty as imitation, we fix our attention on only one model, scarcely any one portion of his excellence will allow us to become masters of it. Accordingly, since it is almost denied to human ability to copy fully the pattern we have chosen, let us set before our eyes the excellences of several, that different qualities from different writers may fix themselves in our minds, and that we may adopt for any occasion the style that is most suitable to it.¹⁷

A reference to the curriculum of St. Paul's School, which I have conjecturally reconstructed in an earlier chapter, makes it clear that the school Milton attended was not given

¹⁵ It is translated, together with the essays of Bembo and Pico on imitation, in Izora Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero* (New York, 1910).

¹⁶ J. E. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1908), pp. 131 and 254.

¹⁷ Quint., X, ii, 24-26.

over to slavish imitation of Cicero. This is borne out by a study of the diverse classical authors singled out for praise by Gil in his *Logonomia Anglica* and *Sacred Philosophy*. To be sure Cicero is the author for Latin oratory, but the presence of other writers of excellent prose indicates a degree of acceptance of whatever was excellent in conformity with the most careful usage. This is what we would expect from the strong influence of Erasmus on the course of study. This eclecticism is also Ramian and from Ramus' *Ciceronianus* (1557) was given currency by Gabriel Harvey in his *Ciceronianus* (1577). Harvey proclaims a modified and temperate Ciceronianism which, he says, is derived from Ramus and is a reaction against the extreme Ciceronianism of Sturm and Ascham. "Ramus," he says, "interprets 'Ciceronian' to mean excellent and in conformity with the most careful usage of speech and thought." ¹⁸

Praising Athens in his letter to Leonard Philaras, Athenian, Milton testifies to the lessons he had learned from imitating the Attic orators: "Remembering how many men of supreme eloquence were produced by that city, I have pleasure in confessing that whatever literary advance [*quiquid ego in Literis profeci*] I have made I owe chiefly to steady intimacy with their writings from my youth [*adolescencia*] up." ¹⁹ And when he boasts that he had been "inur'd and season'd betimes with the best and elegantist authors of the learned tongues," ²⁰ he gives further evidence that the models for imitation at St. Paul's School were chosen from a variety of the most excellent.

HOW TO IMITATE

The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* tells us, "Imitation impels us to employ a studious method to be similar to someone." ²¹

¹⁸ Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus*, trans. by C. A. Forbes, with Introduction by H. S. Wilson, (Lincoln, Nebr. 1945), p. 71; see also Introduction, pp. 26-30.

¹⁹ *Epist.* 12, June 1652, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 56-57.

²⁰ *Columbia Milton*, III, 328.

²¹ *Ad Heren.*, I, ii, 3.

The method in Milton's boyhood involved two steps: first a study of the literary model to discover how its excellences followed the precepts of art (Analysis), and second the composition of imitative exercises (Genesis). I have quoted Charles Butler, from his *Oratoriae Libri Duo*, at the beginning of this chapter and I have quoted in the previous chapter from Milton, Preface to his *Logic*, on the nature of Analysis.²² In the same Preface he approvingly quotes Manilius:

Experience by varied practice has wrought art,
The example pointing the way.

In antiquity, through the Renaissance, and in some degree to this day, the teacher's analysis of authors has been presented in two ways: in writing by means of textbooks and commentaries and orally by means of lectures and class discussions. The methods are closely related but they differ sufficiently to make it convenient to discuss them separately.

Written analysis in turn takes two forms: 1) where a literary principle is announced and then illustrated by examples from an author or authors; 2) where the text of an author is given intact and accompanied by an explanatory gloss or commentary.

The textbook of grammar, rhetoric, or logic presents its principles, norms, precepts in a logical progression and then illustrates from the authors. Aristotle gives an early example of this in his *Rhetoric* where he advocates and explains the periodic style and quotes his model sentences from the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates.²³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus quotes Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite* to demonstrate his theory that the avoidance of hiatus contributes to smoothness of style,²⁴ and Longinus quotes the only other surviving complete ode of Sappho's to demonstrate his theory that elevation of style is furthered by the selection and combination of what is emotionally striking and intense.²⁵

²² *Columbia Milton*, XI, 15.

²³ *Rhet.* III, 9.

²⁴ *De comp. verb.* xxiii.

²⁵ *De sublimitate* X, 1-3.

This type of analysis is illustrated in Milton's school days by his High Master, Alexander Gil, who quotes freely and with discrimination from contemporary English poets, especially from Spenser, to illustrate the use of figures and of English meters. The same type of analysis is illustrated by Charles Butler's explanation of accentual verse in his *Rhetoricae Libri Duo*. It was also used in the other textbooks Milton used for Latin and Greek grammar.

That John Milton had learned the technic of analysis I shall now demonstrate by two brief quotations, in Allan Gilbert's translation, from Milton's textbook the *Art of Logic* (1672). The first quotation is from Milton's discussion of similitude:

A similitude is disjunct when the four terms or things are distinguished in fact, that is, when two terms or distinct things in the propositions are compared with two terms or distinct things in the reddition. . . . Examples follow. *Eclogues* 5:

What thing that sleep and rest on grass
To weary men appear,
The same to me of thy sweet verse
The melody so clear.

Poetry is to the hearer as sleep to the tired: the four terms are distinct. *Ad fratrem* I: "As the best governors of ships oftentimes may not overcome the strength and rage of the tempest, so the most wise man may not always vanquish the invasion and violence of fortune." Here there are also four terms, for as the pilot is to the tempest so is the wise man to fortune. *Tristia* I:

As tawny gold is tried in fire,
In time of need must faith be tested.²⁶

Here the authors are analyzed to show that they exemplify the precepts. The next step is for the student to compose proportional similitudes which, like the examples, drop on all four feet. The next example of analysis that I shall quote Milton brings forward to illustrate that principle of *dispositio* which offers a method of progressing "from the

²⁶ Columbia *Milton*, XI, 197-199.

universal subject of contemplation to particulars, from the simple to the composite, . . . from a very general definition . . . to a less general, from the more known to a less known."

Thus in the *Georgics* Virgil distributes the matter before him into four parts; in the first book he deals with general matters, as astrology, and meteorology, and discusses cornfields and the cultivation of them, which was the first part of the work; then at the beginning of the second book a transition is used:

Thus far of tillage, etc.

Then he writes generally of trees, next specially on vines. So, in the entire work he endeavors to put first the most general, in the middle the subaltern, and the most special in the last place.

In the *Fasti* Ovid also uses the advantages of this disposition. At the beginning he sets forth the sum of his work:

I'll sing of times that pass throughout the year, etc.

Having made his invocation, he next lays down the division of the year. Thus having interpreted the common differences between holiday and working day, etc., he goes through each month in its place, and in his preface indicates his liking for this order from general to special:

I say these things for the whole calendar
But once, not to break off my further course.

Orators in the introduction, narration, confirmation, and peroration affect this order, and call it the order of art and nature and fact, and commonly follow it closely.

In his *In Verrem* Cicero does this, first in laying down, then in distributing; he writes—²⁷

Milton uses these literary examples to teach a student how to use logic, first the topics of *inventio*, second the arrangements of *dispositio*. He makes no distinction between oratory and poetry so far as logic is concerned. Both oratory and poetry must use logic, as Ramus and Milton understood logic. The Ramian view is presented by Freigius in his *Life of Ramus*, reprinted and condensed by Milton as an appendix to his own *Logic*. Freigius states:

²⁷ Columbia *Milton*, XI, 479-483.

In the thirty-first year of his age he delivered an oration recommending the union of the studies of philosophy and eloquence; with his brother Talon (for this he always called him) he so divided the parts of the profession that Talon in the morning could teach philosophy, and he himself in the afternoon could teach eloquence. He demonstrated the service of dialectic in explaining the poets, orators, philosophers and authors of all sorts.²⁸

Analysis of authors for imitation could also, as I have said, be carried out in school editions of the classics. The schoolmaster could write commentaries, analytical, explanatory and appreciative, of a complete poem or of the selected or complete works of an author. An early Roman grammaticus, for instance, Gaius Julius Hyginus, librarian and teacher,²⁹ published a full commentary on Virgil's poems for which he was praised by Ovid in the *Tristia*.³⁰

When Milton was a boy in school all his texts for the elegantist authors were overloaded with critical and explanatory apparatus. One type of aid to the inattentive schoolboy was a prose version, in normal order, of a poetical original. Thus in J. Bond's edition of Horace the lines on Orbilius the flogging schoolmaster which read: "memini quae plagosum mihi parvo Orbilium dictare," are glossed in the notes, "Orbilium magistrum meum, plagas suis discipulis infligere gaudentem." ³¹

The schoolmasters who commented on school authors did not restrict themselves to elucidation of the language or enriching the historical background of the text. An important part of their task was to lead the boys to the good life by

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XI, 502-503. Leon Howard has made use of Ramian logic, as interpreted by Milton in his own *Logic*, in explaining Milton's ideas of causation in *Paradise Lost*, in an article, "The 'Invention' of Milton's 'Great Argument': A Study of the Logic of 'God's Ways to Men,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, IX (February, 1946), 149.

²⁹ Suet. *Gram.* xx.

³⁰ *Trist.* iii, 14, 17.

³¹ *Epist.* II, 1, 70-71, in Bond's ed. of Horace (1606), p. 279. *Quinti Horatii Flacci Poemata, Scholiis sive Annotationibus, a Ioanne Bond illustrata* (London, 1606; Huntington Library copy). Bond was master of the free school at Taunton. His scholia grew out of the notes he dictated to his students.

pointing the moral in the author's text. As Brinsley says in *A Consolation*:

And indeede for bringing men unto civility, the very heathens saw this to be the onely way, according to these verses of the Poet, [Ovid] which are familiar to every child.

Adde quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

Right learning of ingenuous Arts,

The savage frames to civill parts.³²

Whatever annotated school editions of the classical authors Milton used in the schoolroom, he would find the following in the school library. I quote from the list bought for St. Paul's School in 1582-83 as reported by Gardiner:

Isocrates Graec cum castigat. Wolphii.

Euripides graeco-lat. cum annotat. Stiblini et Brodaei.

Commentar. Lambini in Horatium.

Commentar. Erasmi et al. in Senecam.

Commentar. Ascentii et al. in Persium.

Commentar. Donatii et al. in Terentium.

Commentar. Valle et al. in Sallustium.

Commentar. Rami et al. in Ciceronem.

Commentar. Valentis et Scaligeri in Virgil.

Others given by Mr. Harrison:

Silvius Italicus with commentary.

Terentius with commentary.

Plinii Epistolae with commentary.

Cicero Orations, selected, with commentary by Hotoman.

Aulus Gellius and Tully, Epistles, with commentary.³³

As D. C. Allen has said, "The commentaries in the more common school editions of the classics would, if they could be inspected, yield without doubt the explanation of many puzzling passages in Renaissance writers."³⁴ T. W. Baldwin has quoted a number of explanatory notes from the

³² *A Consolation for Our Grammar Schools* (1622), p. 15.

³³ R. B. Gardiner, *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School* (London, 1884), p. 252.

³⁴ Don Cameron Allen, "Spenser's Sthenoboea," *Modern Language Notes* (February, 1938), p. 118.

Lambinus edition of Horace (1567) which he shows to have been echoed by Shakespeare and to have influenced him.³⁵ He confesses that he has in rough form a fuller treatment of Shakespeare's use of Ovid.³⁶ As we have seen, the Lambinus edition of Horace was in the library of St. Paul's School. May Milton have used this edition, or did he use Bond's? Only a painstaking and protracted study could hope to find an answer.

Such a study Davis P. Harding has made of Renaissance editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which influenced Milton.³⁷ He points out that the standard commentary on the *Metamorphoses* was that of Raphael Regius, first published in 1492 and republished frequently in the sixteenth century. In 1543 the annotations of Jacobus Micyllus appeared along with the commentary of Regius in a Basil edition. Thenceforth the standard edition of the *Metamorphoses* was the Regius-Micyllus version. This was the edition used by Golding in 1565 and by Sandys in 1621 in their translations into English.³⁸ As Harding demonstrates, these were the annotations Milton used, either directly from the Regius-Micyllus edition or indirectly through such a secondary source as Sandys, who reproduces them. These annotations account for a number of Milton's interpretations of Ovid in his allusions to mythology and fortified the Renaissance tendency in his education which led him often to give Christian and moral interpretations to ancient myth. Further studies of the Renaissance editions of other school authors Milton studied at St. Paul's will doubtless throw additional light on his development as man and poet.

But much more important than the analysis of authors supplied by textbooks of grammar, rhetoric, and logic or by the annotated school editions of classical authors was the teach-

³⁵ *Small Latine* II, 497-525.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

³⁷ *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid* (Urbana, Ill., 1946); *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. XXX, No. 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-23, 101. Harding promises early publication of his evidence for Golding's use of Regius, note to p. 19.

er's prelection in the classroom. The teacher could and did enforce his analysis by securing student participation in the discussion, by asking questions, by having the students read aloud, parse, construe, translate and interpret. But the teacher's prelection, being oral and to a degree impromptu, does not survive in writing, and it is difficult to reconstruct save as a teacher reports his own procedure or the procedure of another.

Plato reports the earliest and best of prelections in the *Phaedrus*, where he represents Socrates as discussing a speech by Lysias which Phaedrus reads aloud to him from a manuscript. It is a model lesson in rhetoric in which the teacher tactfully weans his pupil away from a faulty model for imitation and leads him to admire a better model, Socrates' own, which is shown to excel by being based on sound philosophical truth and being arranged with proper logic by beginning with definition and proceeding through a division of the theme.

Quintilian is less charming than Plato, but he gives a more accurate picture of actual school procedure. In one passage, which for centuries was a model for teachers, he gives explicitly a statement of his own procedure in conducting a prelection with a class. He recommends the same procedure for the *grammaticus* in teaching the poets as for the *rhetor* in teaching the orators. I shall quote rather fully from Quintilian's important account:

The teacher, after calling for silence, should appoint one pupil to read—and it will be the best if they are selected by turns that they may thus accustom themselves to clear pronunciation. Then, after explaining the controversy [*causa*] with which the oration is concerned—so that the students will have a clearer understanding of what is to be said—the teacher should leave nothing unnoticed which is important to be remarked as to the thought [*inventio*] or the style [*elocutio*]. He should point out what method is adopted in the exordium for conciliating the judge; what clearness, brevity, and apparent sincerity is displayed in the statement of facts [*narratio*]; what design there is in certain passages, and what well-concealed artifice—for that is the only

true art in pleading which cannot be perceived except by a skilful pleader. The teacher should then point out what good judgment appears in the division of the matter into heads, how subtle and frequent are the points of argument, with what force the speaker excites, with what charm he soothes; what severity is shown in his invectives, what urbanity in his jests; how he commands the feelings, forces a way into the understanding, and makes the opinions of the judges coincide with what he asserts. In regard to the style, too, he should point out what words are appropriate, eloquent, or impressive, when amplification deserves praise and when there is virtue in its opposite; what phrases are happily metaphorical, what figures of speech are used, where the word order is smooth and polished yet manly and vigorous.

Nor is it without advantage that speeches corrupt and faulty in style, yet such as many, from depravity of taste, would admire, should be read before the boys and that it should be pointed out how many expressions in them are inappropriate, obscure, high flown, low, mean, affected, or effeminate. . . .

Nor should the teacher merely point out these things. He should frequently ask questions and test the judgment of his students. Thus carelessness will not come upon them while they listen nor will the instruction fail to enter their ears. And at the same time they will be led to find out and understand for themselves, which is the aim of this exercise. For what object have we in teaching them but that they may not always require to be taught? . . .

Shall a teacher declaim that he may be a model for his students, and will not Cicero and Demosthenes, if read and thus analysed, profit them more? ⁸⁹

The continuousness of the tradition of teaching the authors by prelection—a tradition which carried right through Milton's school days and long after—was uninterrupted by "monkish ignorance." Medieval grammar school education at its best, at least, was as solidly based on Quintilian as was the renovated educational procedures of the Renaissance. In fact John of Salisbury, in his *Metalogicus* (c. 1159), gives one of the most coherent explanations how prelection was practiced in the schools. He tells fully how that great teacher, Bernard of Chartres, applied Quintilian's method. I shall quote briefly:

⁸⁹ Quint. II, v, 6-16.

On the authority of Quintilian the *grammaticus* in his *praelectio* ought to attend to such details as to ask to have the verse analysed into the parts of speech and the appropriate feet, which ought to be known in poems. He should take exception to barbarisms, improprieties, or other transgressions of the law of speaking. . . . Metaplasm, sentence variation, figures of speech and such various iterations as may be present, the theory underlying this way of speaking or that—all these the *praelectio* should point out. . . . The more disciplines the teacher is imbued with, the more abundantly, the more fully he will discern the elegance of authors, the more clearly he will bring it out in teaching.

This used to be the habit of Bernard of Chartres. In his reading he would show first what was simple and regular. Grammatical forms, rhetorical figures, quibbles of sophistry, relations of the passage to other disciplines he used to bring out clearly—not, however, by teaching everything at every point, but by adjusting to the capacity of his pupils and to the time of the instruction. Since appeal of discourse is either in precision, that is in the nice adjustment of adjective or verb to noun, or in imagery, that is in passing by comparison from one sense to another, he used to inculcate these in the minds of his hearers whenever he found occasion. Since memory is strengthened and talent is sharpened by practice, he would spur some by exhortation, others by punishment, to imitate what they had heard.⁴⁰

As J. P. Whitney has said, "We very often assume too great a break in passing from medieval education and medieval thought to those of the Reformation age." We should bear in mind that the contributions of Erasmus to the theory and practice of the humanistic grammar school Milton attended were not alone his own inspired invention nor dependent alone on his original studies of the educational practices of antiquity. They were also firmly grounded on the enlightened medieval practices of the celebrated school at Deventer, to which he went at the age of nine. This school read the authors. At thirteen Erasmus knew Terence and Horace by heart.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Metalogicus*, I, 24. The translation is from C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1928), pp. 160-164. By permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers.

⁴¹ J. P. Whitney, "Erasmus," *English Historical Review*, XXXV (January, 1920), 3-5. See Erasmus on prelection in *De rat. stud.*, in *Opera* (1703), I, 524-526.

As we bring the tradition of prelection nearer to Milton's day we will find little if any fundamental change. I shall bring Gabriel Harvey, in his *Ciceronianus* (1577), as a witness. Harvey was appointed University Praelector in Rhetoric at Cambridge in 1574, and delivered the *Ciceronianus*, probably in 1575, as an inaugural lecture, "to introduce a series of lectures concerned with the analysis of rhetorical models which the students were expected to imitate and emulate in their own rhetorical exercises."⁴² The method Harvey plans to use in his prelections on Cicero he explains as follows:

Let us return, then, to . . . Ciceronian exegesis. Let us weigh on their appropriate scales all his ornaments of speaking and his main points of disputing. Let us examine the enthymemes, as Aristotle calls them, and all the epicheiremata which occupy the intellect. In his arrangement and method let us attentively observe the clarity which fills and illumines everything with its light. . . . Let us select as an everlasting model for imitation whatever in him is distinguished and admirable, whatever delights either the ear or the mind or has a view to some noble end. And since amplitude of content supports his harmony of diction, as the soul supports the body, let us also employ the double analysis which we have hitherto been using and apply both rhetoric and dialectic continually in all his writings. Let us make rhetoric the expositor of the oratorical embellishment and the arts which belong to its school, and dialectic the expositor of invention and arrangement.⁴³

After Harvey has thus presented his view of what a prelection should do, he goes on to satirize the perhaps commoner (and non-Ramian) prelection. Some of the faults, he says, in the prelections of others who shall be nameless are these: They point out only oratorical ornament and neglect proof and structural arrangement; they spend disproportionate time on subsidiary matters; they speechify and digress on irrelevant topics; they show off their own florid eloquence.

Richard Sherry in the "Epystle" to his *A treatise of*

⁴² Harvey's *Ciceronianus*, trans. by C. A. Forbes, with Introduction by H. S. Wilson (1945), Introduction, p. 5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Schemes & Tropes (1550) also ridicules the shallow teacher's preoccupation with figured language in their prelections on authors: "The common scholemasters be wont in readyng, to saye unto their scholers: *Hic est figura*: and some tyme to axe them, *Per quam figuram?* But what profit is herein if they go no further?"⁴⁴

William Kempe, *The Education of Children* (1588), gives some suggestions for the teacher's going further in handling of prelection on two levels. For the lower school the procedure is elementary and linguistic. When the boy has reached the upper school Kempe assumes that he has had both parts of logic [*inventio* and *judicium*] and the two parts of rhetoric [*elocutio* and *pronuntiatio*]. Hence his teacher must see to it that he is aware not only of words and phrases but of arguments and axioms, sequence of parts, tropes, and figures, and pronunciation and gesture. The scarcity of full treatment of prelection in Milton's school days is perhaps explained by one impatient remark of Kempe's,

This exercise of the artificiall expounding of other mens works I neede not to set foorth by examples, for that it is common and manifest, as is also the last exercise of making somewhat without imitation: only imitation therefore remaineth to be declared by examples.⁴⁵

There remain, then, the imitative exercises of memorizing, translation, and paraphrase.

MEMORIZING

That memorizing both textbooks and authors was the prevailing method of teaching in the grammar schools is attested to by many witnesses. The only adverse comments on memorizing are based on having the boys memorize without understanding what they are learning. Thus Ascham:

I remember, whan I was yong, in the North, they went to the Grammer schole, little children: they came from thence great lubbers: al-

⁴⁴ A vi, verso.

⁴⁵ William Kempe, *The Education of Children in learning: Declared by the Dignity, Utility, and Method thereof* . . . (London, 1588). F3v-G2v.

ways learning, and litle profitig: learning without booke, every thing, understanding within the booke, little or nothing. Their whole knowledge, by learning without the book, was tied onely to their tong and lips, and never ascended up to the braine and head.⁴⁶

But when memorizing, "learning without the book," was combined with prelection and translation, the boys were more likely to understand what they learned.

As usual for most procedures in English grammar schools the *locus classicus* for memorizing, as for other methods, is Quintilian. Quintilian first deals with the custom of having a boy memorize a theme or declamation which he has composed. This he does not approve:

One change should be made from the custom now in vogue with regard to boys of the age we are discussing. They should not be required to memorize what they have composed and then on a certain day recite it as is now the custom.⁴⁷

But Brinsley recommends "the custom now in vogue" for short themes, at least. The boys were: "To bring this Theame of theirs thus made, the next day at the time appointed for shewing their Theames each one to pronounce his Theame without booke."⁴⁸

This practice persisted at Cambridge, at least, whether it did at St. Paul's School or not. Milton's academic exercises, his Prolusions, were delivered not read.

Quintilian prefers the exercise of memorizing select passages from orations or histories written by accomplished writers:

The boys will thus accustom themselves to the best writings, and they will always have in their memory something which they may imitate and will unconsciously reproduce that model of style which has been impressed upon their minds. They will have at command, moreover, an abundant and excellent vocabulary [*copia verborum optimorum*], a command of sentence structure, and a supply of figures, not sought for the occasion, but offering themselves spontaneously from a treasure house within.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *The Scholemaster*, ed. Arber, p. 88.

⁴⁸ Brinsley, *Ludus Lit.*, p. 177.

⁴⁷ Quint. II, vii, 1.

⁴⁹ Quint. II, vii, 3-4.

Milton records with approval his own practice as a student: "To reade good Authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention bee weary, or memory have his full fraught." ⁵⁰ A practice which in turn he urges in *Of Education*:

Then will the choise Histories, *Heroic Poems*, and *Attic* Tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous Political Orationes offer themselves; which if they were not only read; but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounc't with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, *Euripides* or *Sophocles*.⁵¹

Only after attaining familiarity with the great authors would the boys in Milton's ideal academy be introduced to advanced theories of rhetoric, poetry and logic, and be allowed to compose orations.

We can be assured that Milton and Milton's schoolmasters thought much more highly than we do today of the exercise of memorizing fine prose and poetry as a preparation for the pupil's own writing. As Brinsley shows, learning the school authors without the book was a basic practice as a preparation for theme writing, for supplying the boy with both words and matter:

To see that by perfect learning, and oft repeating they be very ready in their first Authors, which they learned, of such Morall matters; as their *Sententiae*, *Cato*, *Esop's Fable*: For some one or mo of these have the grounds of almost every Theame, which is meet to be propounded to schollers to write on. So that by these they shall be furnished with the judgements of many wise men, what is truth, what is false in most matters, with some words to express their minds, and also some reasons; as with the sentences or testimonies of the wisest, Similitudes, or Apologues in *Esop*, and some grave reasons out of *Cato*, which they may call to minde.⁵²

TRANSLATION

It was not inappropriate for the humanists of the Renaissance to exalt Cicero as the supreme model for imitation, for

⁵⁰ *Apology*, *Columbia Milton*, III, 299. ⁵¹ *Columbia Milton*, IV, 285-286.

⁵² Brinsley, *Ludus Lit.*, p. 175.

it was Cicero who took the lead in urging translation from Greek to Latin as an excellent rhetorical exercise in imitation, which would not only improve the student's command of his own language but would also enrich the Latin language itself:

I thought proper, and continued the practice when I was older, to translate the orations of the best Greek orators. By following this practice I gained this advantage, that while I rendered into Latin what I had read in Greek, I not only used the best words, and yet such as were of common occurrence, but also formed some words by imitation, which would be new to our countrymen, taking care, however, that they were appropriate.⁵³

Quintilian indicates that by his day exercises in translating from Greek to Latin were generally approved by orators and teachers:

The old orators thought it an excellent exercise to translate from Greek into Latin. Lucius Crassus, in Cicero's *De Oratore*, says he often practiced it. And Cicero himself, speaking in his own person, recommends it again and again, and has even published translations of Plato and Xenophon which he had done as exercises. It was also approved by Messala. . . . The object of such exercise is evident; for the Greek authors excel in copiousness of matter, and have introduced a vast deal of art into their eloquence. In translating them we may use the very best words since all that we use will be our own. As to figures of speech, which are the greatest ornament of oratory, we may be under the necessity of thinking out a great number and variety of them, because the Roman tongue differs greatly from that of the Greeks.⁵⁴

The English language in the sixteenth century, like the Latin language in the first century B. C., was in need of enrichment and the story of its enrichment by means of translation and imitation of the classics is well known. But the aim of the humanist grammar school was only incidentally the enrichment of the English language or the improvement of the boys' command of it. The primary aim was to teach the boys to speak and write better Latin. Only after they had mastered the elements of Latin could they practice Cicero's

⁵³ *De orat.* I, xxxiv, 155.

⁵⁴ Quint. X, v, 2-3.

exercise of translating from Greek into Latin. Thus Milton had to become a little Roman boy of sorts before he could make Latin translations from the Greek classics as he did from the beginning of the Fifth Form. But in the lower school at least and to some extent in reading Latin authors in the upper school, an adaptation of the Roman exercise of translation could be made. The boys could be taught Latin by translating from English into Latin.

Roger Ascham first popularized this exercise in England although he did not invent it. Luis Vives had advocated it in 1531,⁵⁵ and Ascham himself quotes Pliny the Younger as advocating the parallel exercise of translating from Latin into Greek.⁵⁶ I shall quote rather fully from Ascham's explanation of double translation and its virtues because of its great influence on schoolmasters of Milton's own day and of the strong probability that Milton practiced the exercise many a day at St. Paul's School. The purpose of the method is to familiarize the boy with the usage of the best authors before the boy is required to "make latins" or compose Latin themes. We know from *Of Education* that Milton considered the making of themes before the boy was well grounded in the best authors a "preposterous exaction."⁵⁷ So here is Ascham's method of double translation:

There is a waie, touched in the first booke of *Cicero De Oratore*, which, wiselie brought into scholes, truely taught, and constantly used, would not onely take wholly away this butcherlie feare in making of latines, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in a short time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easie understanding of the tonge, a readines to speake, a facultie to write, a true iudgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what tonge so ever he doth use.

⁵⁵ *De tradendis disciplinis* (1531) In *Opera omnia* (Valencia, 1785), VI, 326: "unum quo Latina verba reddantur vulgaribus, alterum quo vice versa vulgaria Latinis."

⁵⁶ Pliny, *Epist.* 7, 9: "Utile in primis, ut multi praecipiant, ex Graeco in Latinum, et ex Latino vertere in Graecum." (*The Scholemaster*, ed. Arber, p. 94).

⁵⁷ *Columbia Milton*, IV, 278.

The waie is this. After the three Concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto hym the Epistles of *Cicero*, gathered together and chosen out by *Sturmius*, for the capacity of children.

First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause, the matter of the letter: then, let him construe it into Englishe, so oft, as the childe may easilie carie awaie the understanding of it; Lastlie, parse it over perfitlie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both construe and parse it over againe: so, that it may appeare, that the childe douteth in nothing, that his master taught him before. After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompe him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his latin booke, and pausing an houre, at the least, than let the childe translate his owne Englishe into latin againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with *Tullies* booke, and laie them both together: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of *Tullies* wordes, let the master praise him, and saie here ye do well.⁵⁸

This method is followed by Brinsley, in his *Ludus Literarius*, where he devotes a chapter to it with frequent respectful acknowledgments to "M. Askam."⁵⁹ Hoole records his own approval in *A New Discovery*.⁶⁰

A varient of this system of double translation from Latin into English and back into Latin is explained by Ascham in the second book of his *Scholemaster*. It became very popular and led to the preparation of a number of textbooks by Brinsley and others. Ascham explains it as follows:

And for translating, use you your selfe, every second or thyrd day, to chose out, some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde: translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and then give it him to translate into Latin againe: allowyng him good space and tyme to do it, both with diligent heede, and good advisement. Here his wit shalbe new set on worke: his judgement, for right choice, trewlie tried: his memorie, for sure reteyning, better exercised, than by learning, any thing without the booke: and here, how much he hath proffited, shall plainly appeare.

⁵⁸ *The Scholemaster*, ed. Arber, p. 26.

⁵⁹ *Ludus Lit.*, pp. 147-158.

⁶⁰ *A New Discovery*, pp. 122-123.

Whan he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of *Tullie*: lay them together: compare them one with the other: commend his good choice, and right placing of wordes: Shew his faultes jently.⁶¹

The opportunity for the textbook writers grew out of the difficulty the master might have in translating the author himself. Hence Brinsley prepared a whole series of grammatical translations from school authors which were prepared for translation back into Latin by the boys with subsequent check against the author's own Latin. These translations of his own he cheerfully advertises in his *Ludus Literarius* and in his *A Consolation for our Grammar Schools*. Thus he says of one of his books: "For a plaine and easie resolution of the matter of Authors meete for young scholars, see the grammaticall translation of the first booke of *Tullies Offices*." ⁶²

But Brinsley was generous in advertising the textbooks of other schoolmasters as well as his own. In *A Consolation* he recommends Maister Grimmald for the rest of the *De Officiis*, which he had not done, Thomas Newton for *De amicitia* and *De senectute*, Arthur Golding the *Metamorphoses*, Maister Flemming for the *Georgics*, and Maister Phaer for the *Aeneid*. He gives a fine boost for Maister Barnard's *Terence*: "For *Terence*, if you thinke good, and especially to furnish with English phrase to answer the Latine, and by reading out of the English into Latin, to help more speedily to obtaine the Latin phrase and style, Maister *Barnards* translation." ⁶³

Terence in English (1598), by R. Bernard (as his name is usually spelled), a popular school edition of Terence, shows by its arrangement how such a text was used in school. I shall describe briefly the edition of 1614.⁶⁴ In his dedicatory

⁶¹ *The Scholemaster*, ed. Arber, p. 88.

⁶² *A Consolation*, p. 69.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁶⁴ *Terence in English. Fabulae Comici Facetissimi et Elegantissimi Poetae Terentii Omnes Anglicaefactae, & hac nova forma editae: opera ac industria R.B. . . . Quarta editio multo emendatior.* London, 1614. The Huntington Library copy has the autograph of Tho. Orl: Marsh. There are editions of 1598, 1607, 1614, 1629, 1641.

epistle, to "the worshipfull young gentleman M. Christopher Wray," the editor and translator urges young men thus "to become wise to avoid such vices, and learn to practise vertue." In his Latin *Ad lectorem* he praises Terence's style as proper, perspicuous, and pure. As such he recommends it for imitation. The arrangement of the text is as follows. Act I Scene I first appears in Latin pages 5 to 8, with explanatory glosses and scholiae in Latin in the margin. The English translation begins on page 8 and runs through the first column of page 11. The second column begins a list of *Formulae Loquendi*, three columns long. The formulae are given in Latin with an English version thus: "*Captus est*. He is taken, he is in the snare; he is in for a bird, he is in by the week. *Percussit mihi animum*. It smote me to the heart; it danted me, it made my hart colde in my bellie." (The examples indicate that Terence was studied for colloquial Latin.) The apparatus concludes with a selection of *Sententiae* from the text, which the boys were to learn and use in speech and writing. Thus: "Mala mens, malus animus." This arrangement is repeated for each scene of each play in the book.

As an aid to the practice of translation for exercise in Latin a paper book was frequently used. After a boy has gone forward to longer and more difficult translations Ascham recommends that he begin to keep a special paper book in which he will enter from the author he is translating and under proper heads such nouns and verbs as are used literally and figuratively, synonyms and antonyms, and idiomatic phrases.⁶⁵ Keeping such a paper book for a record of his own reading might be very useful in helping a boy to mastery of Latin. Less useful to the boy was the use of a ready-made paper book such as the *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* of Marius Nizolius which is referred to by Sidney in the following passage:

Truly I could wish . . . the diligent imitators of *Tullie* and *Demosthenes* (most worthy to be imitated) did not so much keep *Nizolian*

⁶⁵ *The Scholemaster*, ed. Arber, pp. 27 and 87.

Paper-bookes of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation (as it were) devoure them whole, and make them wholly theirs.⁶⁶

The only documentary evidence that Milton, at one time or another, kept a paper book of words and phrases is the Separate Note from the Columbia manuscript, following the Additions to the Commonplace Book. This Note is headed, "English Phrases derivd from the Latine tongue &c." There are only two entries, one on "bedaubd" and the other on "warm." I shall quote the first, inserting within brackets the translation from the Columbia *Milton* in place of what appears in Latin:

A Coat *bedaubd* with Gold &c.

Virgil: Per Tunican squalentem Auro.

The words seem to be alike improper; but the Latin is thus vindicated by Servius; and from thence our Phrase arises [Bedaubed refers to abundance and thickness of gold, as "shining in bedaubed beauty." Thus whatever was overladen and covered in an object, and had so striking an appearance as to make those who beheld it change countenance, was said to be bedaubed.] Vid: Macrob: Lib: 6. Cap. 7.⁶⁷

As the hand of this entry is not Milton's, but the hand of the same amanuensis who made the entries for the Legal Index in the Columbia manuscript,⁶⁸ this fragment of a paper book must date from after Milton's blindness. But it is good evidence that Milton had been taught in childhood to keep both a commonplace book and a paper book of words and phrases.

Closely related to the paper book as an aid to the study of style is the marginal jotting on the pages of an author. Thus Milton's copy of Harington's *Ariosto* (1591) is freely adorned with his marginal notes of a rhetorical nature, strongly suggesting that they were made while he was a schoolboy. As T. O. Mabbott reports: "He even numbered

⁶⁶ *Defense of Poetry* in G. G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, (Oxford, 1904) I, 202. There were two copies of Nizolius recorded in the library of St. Paul's School. R. B. Gardiner, *Admission Registers*, p. 252.

⁶⁷ *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 226. Columbia MS, p. 154.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 510.

the similes (over 130 of them) as 'Simile 123' in the margin, and treats the 'sentences' in the same way. Besides pithy sayings and proverbs he often wrote the word 'proverbe'." ⁶⁹

Milton must have done a great deal of translating as well as keeping up of paper books at school—translation from Latin into English, from English into Latin, from Greek into English and into Latin, from Hebrew into English and into Latin. These exercises in translation then as now would be both oral and written. The nature of some of the rather formal written assignments is indicated by the late seventeenth century curriculum for St. Paul's School in the Gale manuscript (pp. 111-113). For the Fourth and Fifth Forms was assigned every Tuesday "A Story in Heathen Gods to be turned into Latin." And in the Fifth Form was assigned for each week "A Psalm to turn into Latin verse," and "A Psalm to turn into Latin prose." As the Psalms in Hebrew were not taken up until the Eighth Form Milton would be translating from an English version into Latin prose and Latin verse; unless, perchance, he made Latin verse by paraphrase from the Latin Vulgate.

Milton's *Apologus de Rustico & Hero*, in Latin elegiacs, first published in the *Poemata* of 1673, may possibly be a translation he made at St. Paul's School, or a reworking thereof. To quote MacKellar:

The fable of the peasant and his landlord was not original with Milton. The same story, called "a fable taken out of Mantuan" appears in William Bullokar's *Aesop's Fables in True Orthography*, published in London in 1585. Bullokar gives two renderings, one in prose, the other in verse, both so close to Milton's Latin version that this last might well be a translation.⁷⁰

Even if Milton did not make the translation until after he had left school, the story as he tells it is a perfect example of a schoolboy theme—at its best.

⁶⁹ Mabbott's notes to *Marginalia*, in *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 570.

⁷⁰ W. MacKellar, *Latin Poems of John Milton*, p. 39. In the *Columbia Milton* the poem appears in I, 230.

Another translation, that of "The Fifth Ode of Horace. Lib I," also first appeared in 1673, and has been variously dated from Milton's early college days to after 1645.⁷¹ Whenever he did it, and perhaps revised it, he shows a very schoolboy pride in his head note: "Rendred almost word for word without Rhyme according to the Latin Measure, as near as the Language will permit."⁷² As Milton states his own mature theory of translation in the Post-Script to *The Judgement of Martin Bucer* (1644), he shows no pride whatever in word for word renderings, which, he says, he has avoided in his own translations from Bucer:

Thus farre *Martin Bucer*: Whom where I might without injury to either part of the cause, I deny not to have *epitomiz'd*: in the rest observing a well-warranted rule, not to give an Inventory of so many words, but to weigh their force.⁷³

PARAPHRASE

Akin to the exercise of translation is that of paraphrase, equally ancient, but not equally approved. Ascham sums up the disapproval, which he shared, and also gives the names at least of some who have approved paraphrase:

Tullie in the person of *L. Crassus*, . . . doth, not onely praise specially, and chose this way of translation for a yong man, but doth also discommend and refuse his owne former wont, in exercising *Paraphrasin et Metaphrasin*. *Paraphrasis* is, to take some eloquent Oration, or some notable common place in Latin, and expresse it with other wordes: *Metaphrasis* is, to take some notable place out of a good Poete, and turn the same sens into meter, or into other wordes in Prose. *Crassus*, or rather *Tullie*, doth mislike both these wayes, because the Author, either Orator or Poete, had chosen out before, the fittest wordes and aptest composition for the matter, and so he, in seeking other, was driven to use the worse.

Quintilian also preferreth translation before all other exercises: yet having a lust, to dissent, from *Tullie* . . . doth greatly commend

⁷¹ James H. Hanford, *A Milton Handbook*, 4th ed., (New York, 1946), p. 176. Merritt Y. Hughes, in his edition of *The Minor Poems* (New York, 1947) says, "Personally, I have always believed that it was a school or college exercise" (p. li).

⁷² *Columbia Milton*, I, 69.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, IV, 60.

Paraphrasis, crossing spitefullie *Tullies* iudgement in refusing the same: and so do *Ramus* and *Talaeus* even at this day in *France*.⁷⁴

Ascham's listing of *Ramus* and *Talaeus* as favoring paraphrase would suggest quite correctly that paraphrase was used in most grammar schools when Milton was a boy.

Quintilian's reasoned defense of paraphrase, which Ascham found so spiteful, is in part as follows:

About the utility of turning poetry into prose I believe no one has any doubt. For the eloquence of poetry may help to elevate prose style; and there is nothing to prevent our turning the boldness of expression, allowed by poetic license, into the exactness of expression appropriate to prose. To the poet's thoughts we may even add oratorical vigor, fill in omissions, prune redundancy. For I would not have our paraphrase to be a mere interpretation, but an effort to vie with and rival our originals in the expression of the same thoughts.

I therefore differ from those who disapprove of paraphrasing Latin orations on the pretext that, as the best expressions have already been used, whatever we express differently must of necessity be expressed worse . . . If a thought could be expressed well in only one way, it would be right to suppose the road closed to us by our predecessors. But in fact there are innumerable ways of expressing a thought and many roads leading to the same goal. There is something to be praised in conciseness as well as copiousness, in metaphorical as well as literal, in direct as well as figurative expression.⁷⁵

If we follow Quintilian's broad definition of paraphrase we may accept as school exercises in paraphrase Milton's two verses and the prolusion on early rising which Horwood found with Milton's *Commonplace Book*.⁷⁶ MacKellar conjectures, "In all probability the essay and the verses were done as an exercise when Milton was at St. Paul's School or shortly after he entered Cambridge."⁷⁷ As such exercises were assigned at grammar schools but not regularly at the University, I throw my vote in favor of their being school exercises. If Milton succeeded well with his prose theme, Dr.

⁷⁴ *The Scholemaster*, p. 93. Cicero's objections to paraphrase, *De orat.* I, 154.

⁷⁵ Quint. X, v, 4-8.

⁷⁶ Text of verses, *Columbia Milton*, I, 326-327; 597, note. Text of prolusion, *ibid.*, XII, 288.

⁷⁷ *Latin Poems of Milton*, p. 365.

Gil may have suggested that he turn the theme first into elegiacs and then into choriambics.

The precedent for teaching the exercise of paraphrase at St. Paul's School was established by Erasmus in his *De ratione studii* (1511) where he recommends the turning of poetry to prose and prose to poetry, and the turning of poetry from one meter to another,⁷⁸ as Milton gave the theme on early rising in elegiacs and in choriambics. Even Ascham grudgingly admits that paraphrase from prose to verse or from verse to prose has classical sanction and is better than paraphrase from one prose version to another.⁷⁹

For explicit directions for the usual methods of teaching the exercises in paraphrasing we may profitably turn to Brinsley. The most elementary form of paraphrase, called "varying the phrase," was no more than a process of transposing a statement from one grammatical form to another, as is done in our schools today when we ask a pupil to change the participial phrase in a sentence to a subordinate clause. Thus:

Entering the room, John found a cat.

When John entered the room, he found a cat.

As Brinsley explains: "The practice of varying of a phrase, according to the manner of *Erasmus*, *Rivius*, or *Macropedius*, *de copia verborum*: as the wayes of varying the first Supine, of the Imperative mood, the future tense, the Superlative degree, and the like."⁸⁰

In the *De Copia Verborum* (1512) of Erasmus, *Primi supini variatio* appears at the end of Cap. LXI; *Variatio Imperativi modi* is treated in Cap. LXVII; and *Variatio futuri* in Cap. LXVIII.⁸¹ Indeed a great deal of the first part of the *De Copia Verborum* is made up of examples of varying the phrase by varying the words through the use of synonyms or

⁷⁸ *Opera* (1703), I, 525.

⁷⁹ *The Scholemaster*, p. 104.

⁸⁰ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 218.

⁸¹ I have used the Amsterdam edition of 1645, Apud Ionnem Lanssonium.

varying from literal to figurative expressions or from one figurative expression to another, and the like.

Since Brinsley gives no examples of varying of a phrase, Thomas Barney, whose signature appears on the title page of the Huntington Library copy of Brinsley, has written in some explanatory notes in the margins and on available blank pages of what was once his copy of the *Ludus Literarius*. Thus on the margins of page 118 he writes:

The first Supine is varied sixe waies: first by a Gerunde: venit ereptum, venit ad eripiendum: secondly: by an adjective made of a Gerunde as: venit ad eripiendam virginem: thirdly: by a Gerunde: as venit causa eripiendi virginem or it maie be made by an adjective made of a Gerunde: as venit causa eripiendae virginis: fourthly by a verbe: as: venit ut eripiat virginem: fiftly by a participle: as: erepturus virginem: sixtly by the infinitive moode: as: venit eripere virginem.

Variatio imper The imperative is varied 2 waies: first by the subjunctive moode: as: saluta: fac ut salutes: secondly by the future tense of indicative moode: as: vale, valebis.

Variatio futur the future tense is varied onlie by a verb Substantive: as: poenitebit te odim: futurum est ut te poeniteat: spero te gausurum facto: Spero futurum ut facto gaudeas.

Variatio super it is varied by manie things: 1: by the comparative degree: 2 by Syntax: 3 by Periphrasis or circumlocution: 4 by an Int. or question: et multas aliqs.

Another popular exercise in paraphrasing, much used as soon as the boys began to read Latin poetry, was called the "turning of verses." It was called for in the late seventeenth century curriculum at St. Paul's School twice a week for the Fourth Class and once a week for the Fifth. The exercise depends in part on the relative indifference of Latin elegiac verse to word order so long as the meter is kept regular. So the boys were set to transpose words in a given distich without destroying the meter. Or they might vary the phrase or in some other way express the thought of the original in different words or in different word order but in correct even though uninspired meter. Brinsley describes this elementary exercise in verse and illustrates as well:

Cause them to turne the verses of their Lecture into other verses, either to the same purpose, which is easiest for young beginners, or turne to some other purpose, to express some other matter; yet ever to keepe the very phrase of the Poet, there or in other places, onely transposing the words or phrase, or changing some word or phrase, or the numbers or persons, or applying them to matters which are familiar. . . . This may be practised, each to bring a verse or two thus changed, either being given at eleven to be brought at one, or at evening to be brought in the morning, or both.⁸²

A little later in the same chapter he lists among Helpes for versifying the following, which exemplifies the process:

For turning of verses divers waies, M. Stockwood his *Progymnasma scholasticum* is *instar omnium*, to direct and to incourage young Schollers. In which booke towards the end of it, you shall have one Disticke or couple of Verses, varied 450. wayes. The Verses are these:

1. *Linque Cupido iecur; cordi quoque, parcito: si vis
Figere, fige alio tela cruenta loco.*
2. *Parce meo iecori; intactum mihi linquito pectus:
Omnia de reliquo corpore membra pete.*
3. *Caece puer, &c.*

And in shutting up of all, this one Verse is turned by transposing the words 104. wayes; all the same words, and onely those words being kept: which might seem impossible, but that there we may see it before our eyes, that nine words should serve to make a hundreth and foure Verses, all of the same matter. The Verse is this:

*Est mea spes Christus solus, qui de cruce pendet.
Est Christus solus mea spes, qui de cruce pendet.
Est solus Christus mea spes, qui de cruce pendet.
Solus de cruce, &c.*⁸³

A more difficult form of the exercise, the verse epitome of verse, Brinsley describes as follows:

As they proceed, to cause them to contract their Lectures, drawing seven or eight verses into foure or five, or fewer: yet still labouring to expresse the whole matter of their Author in their owne verse, and every circumstance, with all significant Metaphors, and other tropes and phrases, so much as they can.

Thus they may proceed if you will, from the lowest kind of verse in the Eclogues, to something a loftier in the Georgicks; and so to the

⁸² *Ludus Lit.*, p. 194.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

stateliest kinds in the *Æneids*: wherein they may be tasked to go thorow some book of the *Æneids*, every day contracting a certain number, as some 5. or 6. a day, for some of their exercises, striving who can expresse their Author most lively. By which daily contention you shall find, that those who take a delight in Poetry, and have sharpnesse & dexterity accordingly, will in a short time attaine to that ripenesse, that they who know not the places which they imitate, shall hardly discerne in many verses, whether the verse be *Virgil's* verse or the Scholler's.⁸⁴

Aubrey says Milton was already a poet when he had his portrait painted at the age of ten. But the earliest examples of his poetry that certainly survive are his English versions of Psalm 114 and Psalm 136. Milton designates these "paraphrases" and states: "This and the following *Psalm* were done by the Author at fifteen years old."⁸⁵

Paraphrases they are and at the age of fifteen Milton was a schoolboy at St. Paul's, but I do not believe that they were regular exercises required by Dr. Gil. The paraphrases that he was required to do would more likely be paraphrastic versions in Latin. But he was at fifteen in the Eighth Class at school and was beginning the study of Hebrew, which usually meant the Psalms to begin with. The normal procedure was in school to make Latin versions from the Hebrew. Why should not Milton try them in English to please himself and his father? Brennecke has placed Milton's two metrical paraphrases in their proper historical setting by comparing them with Sternhold's traditional versions to which Milton the elder had contributed musical settings in Ravenscroft's *Whole Booke of Psalms* (1621).⁸⁶ That the schoolboy Milton at the age of fifteen had some reason to be proud of his accomplishment is clear from the parallel passages which Brennecke prints. I am inclined to list these paraphrases of the Psalms amongst Milton's extracurricular activities. But in preparation for them he must have spent many hours at

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁸⁵ *Columbia Milton*, I, 11.

⁸⁶ Ernest Brennecke, Jr., *John Milton the Elder and His Music* (New York, 1938), pp. 108-109.

the imitative exercises of memorizing, translation, and paraphrase which the school curriculum planned as first steps toward the original composition in Latin and English which graduates of the school could look forward to.

8. Exercises for Praxis

THE EXERCISES of prelection, memory, translation and paraphrase which I have dealt with briefly in the foregoing chapter are primarily exercises in what Milton and other Ramians called Analysis: "When the examples of an art are as though resolved into their principles, while in their single parts they are examined with respect . . . to the precepts of the art." ¹ Genesis, "when according to the direction given by the art we do or make something," will be the subject of this chapter. True enough the boys made translations and paraphrases in their imitative studies of the authors, but the making and doing went little farther than the acquisition of the ability to read and write Latin and Greek, and to understand and appreciate the authors.

Kempe made two steps out of Genesis: The boy was first "to imitate the examples in some work of his owne," and next "to make somewhat alone without an example." ² But in fact no schoolboy in the grammar school ever made somewhat alone without some degree of imitation. The introductory exercises in imitation were servile; the more advanced exercises were only relatively free. Moreover, the introductory exercises were directed primarily towards the acquisition of a correct and eloquent style [*elocutio*] in Latin and Greek. The more advanced exercises introduced the student to the problems of discovering something to say [*inventio*] and the problems of giving form to what was to be said [*dispositio*]. In Ramian terms this meant beginning the study of logic. And in any terms of literary criticism it meant beginning the practice of literary forms drawn from classical precedent. The major forms practiced were the Latin Epistle based on

¹ Milton, *Logic*; Columbia *Milton*, IX, 15.

² *The Education of Children* (London, 1588), F2r.

the *Epistolae* of Cicero and the *Heroides* of Ovid; Latin and Greek verse forms, beginning with Latin Elegy based on Ovid and going on to Virgilian Eclogue; and oratorical forms beginning with themes and simple declamations as presented in the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius, with advanced classes going on to the classical oration based on Cicero. I shall begin with the exercises in writing the Latin Epistle.

THE LATIN EPISTLE

Discussing the published Latin letters of Renaissance humanists C. S. Baldwin wrote: "Sometimes in effect essays, sometimes almost orations, they are sometimes themes. The favorite model is Cicero; and in extreme cases the letter seems to consist of style. It is hardly a letter; it is an exercise."³ When it is understood how the Latin Epistle was taught as an exercise in the grammar schools, it is not difficult to understand how the Latin Epistles of mature scholars naturally retained traces of school training in letter writing. Certainly those of Milton's *Epistolae Familiares* which were written to Young and to Gil while he was a student at Cambridge convey the impression of themes or exercises more than of spontaneous communications to friends. Moreover they are quite explicitly oratorical. In Epistle 1, for instance, he promises Young a message "in a free oration, or rather . . . an Asiatic exuberance of words." He promises to go to Aristotle and Ramus for hoards of arguments, "even if I should exhaust all the fountains of oratory." The intention of these hyperboles is jocosely, but it is rhetorical jocularity. Milton shows by his manner that he is well aware that the Latin Epistle is an exercise in rhetoric, or as he would have said in logic and rhetoric, and he is showing his former teacher how well he can play the game. As William Fulwood, in *The Enemie of Idleness* (1568), the first of the English formularies for letter writing puts it, "And to describe the

³ Charles Sears Baldwin, *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (New York, 1939), p. 41.

true definition of an Epistle or letter, it is nothing else but an Oration written.”⁴

E. M. W. Tillyard is as aware of the presumption of rhetoric in Milton's Latin Epistles as Milton or his school-masters could be. In his Introduction to Phyllis B. Tillyard's translations from the *Epistolae Familiares* he both palliates and defends:

Many of the best letter-writers charm us most when they have least to say. Not so Milton. Instead of allowing his fancy to fill the vacuum, he merely elaborates a few compliments or a few excuses for not having written before; and as the rhetorical virtuosity of such elaboration has ceased to charm, part of the reason for these letters' existence has disappeared. On the other hand, when Milton has matter to express and must needs write at length, he can write with urbanity or nobility: his rhetoric has found a function and we can enjoy it.⁵

That the Latin Epistle was literary and formal was in part at least the result of its difficulty. Very few humanist scholars could write more easily in Latin than in their own vernacular. Milton makes the difficulty explicit in his letter to Richard Heath of December 13, 1652:

Further, as to what you say about writing in English, do so if you please (though you have really made no small advance in Latin), lest at any time the trouble [*labor*] of writing should make either of us slow to write, and in order that our ideas, not being bound by any fetters of an alien speech, may the more freely express themselves.⁶

The rhetorical formality of the Epistle was also in part the result of an elaborate literary tradition which required the writer to make pat allusions to mythology, quote appropriate snatches from the elegantest poets, and adorn his own style with graceful figures and pithy aphorisms. All this took time and care, a well-stocked memory and a well selected library. That one did not write a Latin Epistle *currente ca-*

⁴ Fol. A7 r. Quoted from W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (New York, 1937), p. 108.

⁵ Milton, *Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises*, trans. by Phyllis B. Tillyard with an Introduction and commentary by E. M. W. Tillyard (Cambridge, England, 1932), p. x.

⁶ *Epist.* 13, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 61.

lamo, but only surrounded by appropriate works of reference, is indicated by Milton's apology to Young in his Epistle dated March 26, 1625:

These lines I have written in London amid city distractions, and not, as usual, surrounded by books: if, therefore, anything in this epistle shall please you less than might be, and disappoint your expectation, it shall be made up for by another more elaborate one as soon as I have returned to the haunts of the Muses.⁷

A rereading of the whole Epistle should convince the reader that the apology is a rhetorical bow of courtesy. He had plenty of books in London. We should not forget that gentlemen of the old school wear their medals, not out of vanity, but as a compliment to host and guest.

Now that the rhetorical nature of the Latin Epistle has been established, let us examine briefly how the theory of the arts of rhetoric and logic is exemplified in the letters. The first and special value of the letter as an exercise is that it is addressed to a particular audience—to a person actual or vivified by the imagination. Hence more than most school themes the Epistle furnished the schoolmaster with the opportunity to teach the doctrine of *ethos*: that the communication be appropriate to the writer, to the recipient, and to the circumstances of the communication. Milton's letters to Young and Gil, *Epistolae* 1, 2, 3, and 4, show Milton's awareness of the proper relationship as a former pupil to a most excellent preceptor. As Aristotle urges he endeavors to appear to have good sense, virtue and good will.⁸ The tone is friendly but deferential, as it should be, more deferential to the older man, Young, than to Gil, who was nearer his own age. Epistle 5 to Gil, dated December 4, 1634, was written after the successful performance of *Comus* on September 4, 1634, and two years after the successful publication of ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ (1632) which helped to establish Gil as one of the "best Latin poets in the nation."⁹ Hence this letter is not char-

⁷ *Epist.* 1, *ibid.*, XII, 7.

⁸ Arist., *Rhet.* II, i, 5.

⁹ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (1815), III, 43.

acterized by the decent deference of a former pupil to a schoolmaster, but by the urbane flattery of a young successful poet to a successful older one. As time went on and Milton became a schoolmaster, his own letters to a former pupil, Richard Jones, show an awareness that decorum required a preceptor to patronize and admonish, or as he writes Jones, "to exhort and excite you to virtue and piety."¹⁰ In none of the letters to Jones does Milton allow himself to fall out of character. He has preserved the conventions.

The teaching of the rhetorical doctrine of *ethos*, as taken from oratory and applied to letter writing, was well established in the Middle Ages in the formularies for letter writing known as the *ars dictandi* or *ars dictaminis*. As I have shown elsewhere¹¹ John of Garland in his *Poetria* (c. 1270) adapted the ancient classification of styles as 1) grand; 2) plain; and 3) middle¹² and applied them to the adaptation of an Epistle to the reader. A letter writer, he suggests, should address the court in the grand style, the city in the middle style, and the country in the plain style.¹³ In another *ars dictandi* of about the same period, the *Candelabrum*, adaptation to writer and reader is dealt with under "Salutation": "The main consideration in any *salutatio* is who is writing to whom; for there must always be made an adjustment of the one to the other [*collatio personarum*]." ¹⁴

In order to teach boys to write a letter in a style adapted to the writer, the recipient, and the circumstances, Erasmus

¹⁰ *Epist.* 22, *Columbia Milton*, XII, 91. There are four letters to Jones, *Epist.* 19, 22, 25, 30. For Aristotle on adaptation to an audience, see *Rhet.* III, iii, 4.

¹¹ Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (New York, 1922), p. 45.

¹² *grandiloques, tenues, medius*. *Cic. Orat.*, 20-22. *Quint.*, XII, x, 58. Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetoric*, ed. Mair (Oxford, 1909), p. 169, calls them great, lowe, and small kinde.

¹³ *Poetria magistri Johannis anglici de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica*, ed. by G. Mari, *Romanische Forschungen*, XIII (1902), 897.

¹⁴ Translated by C. S. Baldwin from the Plimpton MS, in *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1928), p. 220. See Baldwin's chapter, "Dictamen," for a fuller account.

recommends in his most influential *De conscribendis epistolis* (1521) the writing of letters which, like the *Heroides* of Ovid, are *prosopopoeiae*. The boys were to write letters impersonating well-known characters from history, legend or poetry, and write such letters as these characters might write to other characters in well-known circumstances as described in the Greek and Latin authors the boys were reading. Thus Cicero writes a letter to Milo urging him to be patient in exile, Antenor a prisoner in the Greek camp writes to his father Priam urging that Helen be returned to Menelaus, Jonathan writes to his friend David to fortify his mind while he is in hiding.¹⁵ These themes are adaptations to letter writing from the pervasive ancient declamatory exercise of *prosopopoeia*, called *ethopoeia* in the Latin Aphthonius and *allocutio* in Priscian's Latin version of Hermogenes. Quintilian treats *prosopopoeia* fully as an aspect of *controversiae* and *sua-soriae* in school declamations.¹⁶

Erasmus says that one benefit the boys derive from writing *ethopoeiae* in epistolary form is that they become familiar with the persons and situations of ancient story and learn virtuous lessons from these examples. The virtuous lessons might also be illustrated by the long and circumstantial story Erasmus tells of two boys, Lucius and Antonius, who have devoted themselves to the errors appropriate to their youth. Lucius goes to Paris, learns to love learning better than harlots, and writes a persuasive and hortatory letter to Antonius urging him to reform. Erasmus gives at length the argument or *matière* for this letter, planning not only its *inventio* but its *dispositio* as well, emphasizing what would be appropriate to be said under the circumstances by the reformed Lucius to the unregenerate Antonius. Erasmus points out that the teacher should always explain the story from which the theme of a letter is drawn and explain to the boys just how the theme should be handled. Especially should the boys be careful that

¹⁵ *Opera* (1703), I, 352-354.

¹⁶ Quint. III, viii, 49-54.

the letters should be appropriate to the times, circumstances and persons. Decorum should be maintained and nothing unsuitable should be said.

In the *De ratione studii*, published ten years earlier than the *De conscribendis*, Erasmus had given directions for teaching letter writing that were not unlike:

Often the teacher will assign an epistle the theme of which will be suatory, or dissuatory, hortatory, dehortatory, narrative, gratulatory, commendatory, consolatory. For each of these sorts the teacher will indicate the common topics and formularies, then set the theme of the assignment.¹⁷

Amongst the formularies popular for over one hundred years after Erasmus pioneered in the field with his *De conscribendis epistolis* in 1521 were Christopher Hegendorphinus, *Methodus conscribendi epistolas* (1537) and Georgius Macropedius, *Methodus de conscribendis epistolis* (1580). These two are mentioned by Brinsley in 1612 as the most used textbooks in letter writing in ordinary schools.¹⁸ Other popular Latin formularies for schools were: Vives, *De conscribendis epistolis* (1537), Conrad Celtes, *Methodus conficiendarum epistolarum* (1537), Brandolini, *De ratione scribendi* (1549), and Verepaeus, *De epistolis latine conscribendis* (1592). These were printed together as well as separately. Jean Robertson writes: "The English edition of Lippus Brandolinus' *De Ratione Scribendi*, besides containing Brandolinus' own work, included the treatises of Erasmus, Vives, Macropedius, Conradus Celt and Christopher Hegendorff."¹⁹ There was an edition of Macropedius with Hegendorff attached published in London in 1592. The text of Erasmus was regularly published with Vives, Celt, and

¹⁷ *Opera* (1703) I, 524.

¹⁸ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 166.

¹⁹ Jean Robertson, *The Art of Letter Writing, an Essay on the Handbooks Published in England during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Liverpool, 1943), p. 10. I have not seen this English edition of Brandolinus, which was published 1573. For the formularies in English see also Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935), pp. 139 ff.

Hegendorff in the appendix.²⁰ As late as 1660 Charles Hoole recommended both Erasmus and Verepaeus.²¹

Since the theory of letter writing as taught in the grammar schools was the theory of ancient rhetoric adapted to epistolary conventions, we might expect these formularies of letter writing to present the familiar precepts. This they do. The Epistle was classified as *deliberativum* (persuading or dissuading in regard to future action); *demonstrativum* (praising or blaming present actions or circumstances); and *judicale* (attacking or defending the justice of past actions). This classification, applied to oratory, goes back to Aristotle and is a commonplace of ancient rhetoric. But the formularies, following Erasmus, developed an elaborate system of subclassifications. A deliberative letter, for instance, might be commendatory, suatory, dissuatory, hortatory, dehortatory, petitionary, consolatory, monitory, or amatory. A judicial letter might be defensory, accusatory, expostulatory, excusatory, comminatory, and deprecatory. A fourth class of letters was added by Erasmus—the familiar, which he subdivided as narrative, nunciatory, mandatory, lamentatory, gratulatory, jocose, conciliatory, and laudatory. Angell Day in *The English Secretary* (1586) follows Erasmus in making a fourfold classification and in allowing more freedom to the writer of a familiar letter, the style of which should resemble “the familiar and mutual talke of one freind to another . . . the character thereof should accordingly thereunto be simple, plaine, and of the lowest and meanest style, utterly devoid of any shadow of hie and lofty speeches.”²² Milton, like Day, was following Erasmus when he states in *An Apology, &c.* that an Epistle ought to be “a familiar way of writing.” Hall, in a letter addressed to Mother Church, was hence guilty of a breach of epistolary decorum when he left, “the track of common adresse, to runne up, and tread the aire in metaphorickall compellations.”²³

²⁰ T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, II, 267.

²¹ *A New Discovery*, p. 155.

²² Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²³ *Columbia Milton*, III, 291.

Moreover the Epistle drew its arguments from the same topics or *loci* of *inventio* as did the Oration. There were not only the commonplaces applicable to all letters and orations, but also the special topics appropriate to each one of the classes of letter or oration mentioned above. The *dispositio* of the letter, like the *dispositio* of the oration, followed the traditional five or six parts. The ancient Roman *Rhetorica ad Herennium* gives: *exordium*, *narratio*, *divisio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, *conclusio*.²⁴ John of Garland in his thirteenth century *ars dictandi* gives: *exordium*, *narratio*, *petitio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, *conclusio*. The parts according to Erasmus in his *De conscribendis epistolis* are: *exordium*, *narratio* or *propositio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio* and *peroratio*, a classification followed verbatim by Angel Day, who does not even bother to translate. Most formularies take for granted that the boys will learn about the schemes and tropes of rhetoric [*elocutio*] from other school texts. But not so Macropedius, who deals fully with them as does Day in Part II of his English formulary. *Memoria* and *pronuntiatio*, as appropriate to oral presentation, are not treated by the formularies for letter writing.

It would be amazing if John Milton had not been exposed to the doctrines of one or more of these formularies whilst he was a pupil of Dr. Gil's at St. Paul's School. That he was so exposed and that his *Epistolae Familiares* follow the precepts of the formularies has been demonstrated by Nathalia Wright in an article, "Milton's Use of Latin Formularies."²⁵ After a cursory summary of the rhetoric of the commoner formularies, she points out, "The use of these rules is apparent in all Milton's familiar letters. In attention to detail the earlier letters are more scrupulous; however, in respect to brevity, unity, and division into parts their influence may be noted in the entire series."²⁶ As evidence

²⁴ *Ad Heren*, I, 4 ff.

²⁵ *Studies in Philology*, XL (July, 1943), 390-398.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 392. She used an edition of Brandolini (Frankfurt a/M, 1568) which contained Vives, Erasmus, Celt, Hegendorff and Macropedius.

she reprints Epistle 12, to Philaris, and sets Latin notes in the margin to show that the letter has the five parts a traditional *dispositio* should exhibit. Then she analyses Epistle 8, to Bonmattei, as an *epistola laudatoria*, showing that it employs the *loci confirmationis* listed by Hegendorff, to wit: honest, useful, easy, pious, just, etc. Epistle 6, in which Milton upbraids Diodati for not having written him, as an *epistola expostulatoria*, follows the rules of Macropedius; and the letters to Richard Jones follow the rules of Erasmus for *epistolae hortatoriae*. It is quite evident that Milton's familiar letters follow the rules of the formularies for *inventio* and *dispositio*. It is an inescapable inference that he learned the rules as a schoolboy. A reading of his letters also demonstrates that as he grew older and had more important things to say, he adhered to the rules less strictly.

When Brinsley, in the person of Spoudeus, stated that Macropedius and Hegendorphinus set the rules and method for letter writing in ordinary schools, Brinsley in the person of Philoponus objects. He prefers learning by imitating the best models to following text book rules:

I like well of your reading of *Tullies* Epistles, which indeed is the very foundation of all: but for *Macropedius* and *Hegendorphinus*, although their pains were great; yet I cannot see, but that they will rather require an ancient learned Master to understand, and to make use of them, then a younger Scholler. . . .

When your young Schollers have gone thorow *Sententiae pueriles*, *Confab. Cato*, or the like; and can begin to make Latine in some such good sort as was shewed; let them then reade *Tullies* Epistles, gathered by *Sturmius* ²⁷; as being the choyssest of his Epistles, and most fitte for children. This one booke rightly used, may sufficiently furnish for making Epistles, so far as shall be needfull for the Grammar Schooles.

As they read every Epistle, or before they are to imitate any one, make them as perfect in it as you can, and as time will permit: not onely in construing, parsing, reading out of the Grammaticall translation into the Latine; but also to be able to give every phrase, both Latine to English, and English to Latine. Also cause them to make you a report what the summe of the Epistle is; and this if you will, both in English and Latine also.

²⁷ *Ciceronis epistolae libri IV, puerili educationi confecti*, Strasbourg, 1539.

Cause them for their exercise to make another Epistle in imitation of *Tullies* Epistles, using all the phrases and matter of that Epistle; onely applying and turning it to some friend, as if they had the very same occasion then presently: and also changing numbers, tenses, persons, places, times: yet so, as thereby to make all the matter and phrases, each way most familiar to them, and fully their owne.

And first let them do this in a good English stile, as was said; I meane, in making an English Letter first. . . . Herein they are onely to differ from the Translations, that they do not in these Letters sticke so much to words, to answer word for word both English and Latine; as to write purely and sweetly, as well in English as in Latine; and to express their mindes most fully in both, and in most familiar manner. . . .

I will take for example the first Epistle of *Sturmius*. The more easie it is for the children, the better it is.

M. C. Terentiae salutem plurimam dicit.

Si vales, benè est: ego valeo. Nos quotidie tabellarios vestros expectamus: qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores quid nobis faciendum sit: faciemusque te statim certiozem, valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Calendis Septembris.

The summe of the Letter is; That *Tully* writes to his wife *Terentia*: signifying unto her, that he was in health: that he waited for the Letter-carriers daily: how by them he should know what to do; and that he would then certifie her of all things. And so concludeth, wishing her to looke well to her health. The Letter bare date the Calends of September.

An English Letter in imitation of Tully.

If you be in health, it is well: I am in health. I have long looked for your Messengers. When they shall come, I shal be more certaine what I am to do; and then I will forthwith certifie you of all things. See that you look very carefully to your health.

An Epistle in imitation of Tully.

*Si vales benè est: ego quidem valeo: diu tabellarios vestros expectavi. Cum venerint certior ero quid mihi faciendum sit. Tum autem te omnibus de rebus certiozem faciam. Tuam diligentissime valetudinem fac ut cures.*²⁸

Brinsley's complete program for imitating Cicero's Epistles includes writing an answer to each letter, then imitating

²⁸ *Ludus Lit.*, pp. 166-169. I have condensed Brinsley's story and have corrected a misprint and expanded contractions in his Latin.

in a freer fashion, "imitating onely the forme, but changing the words." Philoponus finally sums up for Spoudeus the points the boys are to observe:

That they take onely so much as is needfull, and fit for their purpose, leaving out all the rest; and that they add what is wanting; alter and apply fitly to the occasions, according to the circumstances of times, persons, places, and the like; that nothing may appeare stolne, but all wittily imitated.²⁹

In the history of English schoolteaching Brinsley is here following and applying the method of Ascham as presented in *The Scholemaster* (1570).³⁰ This method was also followed by Kempe in *The Education of Children* (1588). Kempe, like Brinsley, quotes the first letter in Sturm's edition of Cicero's letters and imitates it first in English and then in Latin.³¹

Brinsley carries his war against the formularies so far that in his *A Consolation for our Grammar Schools* (1622) he names none of them amongst his Helps recommended for Epistles and Letters, naming only books of models:³²

For patterns of short Epistles and pithy letters of all sorts of matter; see the Laconicall Epistles, to wit, the shortest and pithiest gathered out of *Tullie, Manutius, Politian, Erasmus*, and many others, comprized by *Buchlerus* in a little volume of purpose to this end.³³

For examples, serving and directing for imitation of sundry kinds of Epistles, both Consolatory, Gratulatory, and also Hortatory, with all the rest of the kinds of Examples: see *Flores & Sententiae scribendique formulae illustres*.³⁴

It has already been shown that Milton was well trained in the Latin formularies for the Epistle while he was a school-boy. But did he also learn to write Latin Epistles in imitation

²⁹ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 171.

³⁰ Arber ed., p. 26.

³¹ Fol. G i and v.

³² *A Consolation*, p. 68.

³³ Joannes Buchler, *Laconicarum epistolarum thesaurus, bipartis. Prior Latinorum, alter Graecorum*. Opera M. T. Buchleri collectus & digestis, Coloniae, 1606. Hoole, *A New Discovery*, p. 155, also recommends Buchler.

³⁴ *Flores, et Sententiae Scribendique Formulae Illustrioris, Ex Marci Tullii Ciceronis Epistolis familiaribus selectae*. Paris, 1557. It is based on Sturm's selection.

of Cicero? Miss Nathalia Wright gives evidence that he did, by quoting parallel passages from an Epistle of Milton's and from one of Cicero's, which show the degree of imitation approved by Brinsley. The passage from Milton is this; from Epistle 1 to Young:

Quereris tu vero (quod merito potes) literas meas raras admodum & perbrevis ad te delatas esse; ego vero non tam doleo me adeo jucundo, adeoque expetendo defuisse officio, quam gaudeo & pene exulto eum me in amicitia tua tenere locum, qui possit crebras à me Epistolas efflagitare.

Let me here emulate Brinsley by interpolating a translation of Milton's statement:

You complain, indeed, as justly you may, that my letters to you have been as yet few and very short; but I, on the other hand, do not so much grieve that I have been remiss in a duty so pleasant and so enviable as I rejoice, and all but exult, at holding such a place in your friendship that you should care to ask for frequent letters from me.³⁵

And here is the passage from Cicero to Curio which Miss Wright adduces:

Quamquam me nomine neglegentiae suspectum tibi esse doleo, tamen non tam mihi molestum fuit, accusari abs te officium meum, quam iucundum, requiri; praesertim cum, in quo accusabar, culpa vacarem, in quo autem desiderare te significabas meas litteras, prae te ferres perspectum mihi quidem, sed tamen dulcem et optatum amorem tuum.³⁶

We had already learned from the Mercers' minutes of July 28, 1573, that the boys at St. Paul's School received constant practice in the composition of *epistolae petitionariae*, for the boys were given "license to play every Thursday afternoon so that one of every of the forms in the Upper School by turn one after the other first make an epistle to their Master for the same."³⁷ Now from our observation of Milton as a letter writer we can safely conclude that letter writing was taught at St. Paul's School according to a combination

³⁵ Columbia *Milton*, XII, 4-5.

³⁶ Nathalia Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 394, note 11. The letter is *Epistolae ad Familiares*, II, i.

³⁷ McDonnell, *A History of St. Paul's School* (London, 1909), p. 117.

method which used both the formularies for precept and the letters of Cicero for imitation.

EXERCISES IN VERSE WRITING

That Milton as a schoolboy was exercised in the composition of Greek and Latin verse is established by the standard practices of English grammar schools and by Milton's explicit statements. It will be recalled that in *The Reason of Church-Government* he boasts that when he had been exercised "by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of my own choise in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the stile by certain vital signes it had, was likely to live." ³⁸ That one of the "other tongues" was Greek, Milton states in a letter to Alexander Gil, dated December 4, 1634, enclosing some verses in Greek. "Since I left your school," Milton writes, "this is the first and only thing I have composed in Greek." ³⁹ Another of the other tongues was, of course, Latin. That he was set to write Latin elegiacs as an imitative exercise he states in *An Apology, &c.* After mentioning that he had read in school orators and historians, he adds, "Others were the smooth Elegiack Poets, whereof the Schooles are not scarce. Whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easie, . . . and for their matter . . . I was . . . allur'd to read." ⁴⁰

That he had imitated Ovid, prince of elegiac poets, most successfully is stated by E. K. Rand who says of Milton's Fifth Elegy, "If Milton had written it on musty parchment and had somebody discover it, the classical pundits of his day would have proved beyond question by all the tests of scholarship that a lost work of Ovid had come to light." ⁴¹

³⁸ *Columbia Milton*, III, 235.

³⁹ *Epist.* 5, *Columbia Milton* XII, 17.

⁴⁰ *Columbia Milton*, III, 302.

⁴¹ "Milton in Rustication," *Studies in Philology*, XIX (April, 1922), 111.

Since it is established that Milton imitated the smooth Elegiac poet Ovid to such good purpose, it only remains to examine the imitative exercises in Latin poetry, and in the upper school Greek poetry, which were regularly practiced in the grammar schools and observe how Milton learned Latin versification from performing them.

But first let us recall that the boys had studied the rules of prosody in their textbooks before they read the poets and began to imitate them. In *Of Education* Milton speaks of the prosody of a verse, which boys "could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of Grammar."⁴² As a boy Milton would have had to memorize the rules of prosody from the Common Grammar of Lily, which devotes twelve pages to *Prosodia*. In Grant's Greek Grammar he would find thirty-three pages on prosody. The rhetorics also treat prosody, Talaeus briefly in two pages and Butler in twenty. His schoolmaster, the elder Gil, had given twenty-two pages to prosody in the Fourth Part of *Logonomia Anglica*, and was well prepared to teach the precepts orally to his pupils. As Samuel Daniel wrote in *A Defense of Ryme* "Everie Grammatician in this land hath learned his *Prosodia*, and alreadie knowes all this Arte of numbers."⁴³

In teaching versification, the schoolmasters applied all the elementary exercises in imitation which I have already discussed: prelection, translation, memorizing, paraphrase. I shall quote from Hoole who was writing in 1637 and may be considered as quite typical of grammar school teaching methods while Milton was in school and long before. The writing of verse began with the reading of Ovid in the Fourth Form:

Their afternoon Lessons on Mondayes and Wednesdayes, for the first halfe year (at least) may be in *Ovids* little book *de tristibus* wherein they may proceed by six or eight verses at a Lesson; which they should repeat *memoriter* perfectly as they can possibly, because the

⁴² Columbia *Milton*, IV, 286.

⁴³ G. G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), II, 379.

very repetition of the verses, and much more the having of them by heart, will imprint a lively pattern of Hexameters and Pentameters in their minds, and furnish them with many good *Authorities*.

Let them construe *verbatim*, and if their Lesson be harder than ordinary, let them write it down construed.

Let them parse every word most accurately, according to the Grammatical order.

Let them tell you what Tropes and figures they finde in it, and give you their Definitions.

Let them scan every verse, and after they have told you what feet it hath in it, and of what syllables they consist, let them give the Rule of the quantity of each syllable, why it is long or short; the scanning and proving verses, being the main end of reading this Authour, should more than any thing be insisted upon, whilst they read it. And now it will be requisite to try what inclination your young Scholars have toward Poetry: you may therefore let them learn to compose English verses.⁴⁴

Whether Dr. Gil let the boys at St. Paul's School "taste the sweetness of poetizing in English" before they were allowed to versify in Latin we have no means of knowing. Hoole is exceptional in having the boys practice English versification. We do know from *Logonomia Anglica* that the elder Gil was a sound scholar in English metrics and that he was interested in the poetry of Spenser and of other distinguished English poets of his own day. His son was no mean versifier in English as well as in Latin and Greek. We do know from Milton's statements that he at least was writing English verse as a schoolboy both independently and as an imposed task.

In his *History of St. Paul's School*, McDonnell tells an anecdote which if it is not apocryphal, would give some support for the writing of English verse as a regular task:

It is said that Mr. Gill on one occasion set the boys of St. Paul's a verse theme to write on the miracle of Cana, and that Milton showed up on his slate the single line—

The conscious water saw its God and blushed.

⁴⁴ Charles Hoole, *A New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching Schoole*, ed. E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool and London, 1913), pp. 156-157.

This line Richard Crawshaw turned into the Latin epigram—

Nympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit,

a mere transposition of which was produced by Dryden at Westminster, when a Latin theme was set at that school thirty years after it had been set to Milton at St. Paul's.⁴⁵

The well known interest of Milton in Ovid, coupled with the fact that Ovid was a school author in Milton's boyhood, have led Candy to attribute to the young Milton some English verses written on blank verso pages of an illustrated Ovid.⁴⁶ Candy describes the book as "a small octavo volume printed in Frankfort in 1563; the title is "Iohan. Posthii/Germershemii Tetra-/sticha in Ovidii Metamor. Lib. XV." He surmises that Milton's former tutor, Young, might have sent it him from Germany, which is at least possible. The handwriting of the verses is said to resemble that of the stanza on Mel Heliconium, which have been attributed to Milton by some Milton scholars.⁴⁷ Mabbott and French, who edited the uncollected writings of Milton for the *Columbia Milton* state "We have found almost no other [than Candy himself] serious students of Milton who have been convinced by him."⁴⁸ Yet E. K. Rand, a serious student of Ovid at least, accepted the Candy theory in 1925.⁴⁹

The German Ovid is a sort of emblem book. The recto of a page has at the top a few distichs from the *Metamorphoses*, the middle of the page shows an engraving illustrating the text. The bottom of the page gives a "High Dutch" translation of the Latin distichs. The English verses, thought by

⁴⁵ McDonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 173. He gives no citation and I have no notion where he got the story. In his *Elizabethan Schooldays*, J. H. Brown (Oxford, 1933) p. 49, says "There is no mention anywhere of slates being used in schools. . . . The earliest mention known to the author is at St. Olave's, Southwark, in 1815." Whoever started the anecdote, it seems late and of no authority.

⁴⁶ Hugh C. H. Candy, *Some Newly Discovered Stanzas Written by John Milton on Engraved Scenes Illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses* (London, 1924). Candy announced his theory in *Times Literary Supplement* Jan. 26, 1922. The argument was carried forward in *Notes and Queries* from Sept. 9, 1922 to Feb. 17, 1923.

⁴⁷ *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 589.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 601.

⁴⁹ *Ovid and His Influence* (New York, 1925), p. 165.

Candy to be by Milton, are not a translation of the Latin, but rather a group of couplets, usually eight lines, based freely on the picture and the story the picture tells. I choose as a sample the following, perhaps because like the Hobson poems it plays with carts and waggons:

Phoebuses complaint for the death of Phaëton.

Phoebus full sorry for what Joue hath done
 He will not in his wonted charrot run
 Railing at Joue and all the Gods beside
 Bidding them try his charrot for to guide
 Vntill at last the Gods him faire doth speak
 And Joue himselfe doth to him humbly seek
 Gain'd then at last he gathers up his steeds
 And with his whip, their backes he soundly feeds.

When Milton was reading and imitating Ovid at St. Paul's School, he might also have made English verses to go with engravings illustrative of Ovid. It seems possible to me that the Ovid verses are by the boy Milton. But case not proved.

But whether Milton did or did not write verse themes in English at St. Paul's we know he did write verse themes in Latin pretty much according to the methods explained by Hoole, to whom we shall now return:

When you have taught them truly to scan and prove any kinde of Latine verse, and made them to taste the sweetnesse of poetizing in English; you may prepare them further for making Latine verses out of their present Authors thus;

Take a Distick or two, which they know not where to finde, and transpose the words, as different as may be from a verse, and when you have made one to construe them, dismisse them all to their seates, to try who can return them into true verses, without one anothers suggesting. When they have all dispatched, cause him whom you conceive to be the weakest, to compare what he hath done with his Author, and to prove his verses by the Rules of *Prosodia*.⁵⁰

It is to Brinsley we must turn if we want to get the fullest explanation of how the exercise of translation would further the boy's progress in versifying in Latin:

⁵⁰ *A New Discovery*, pp. 159-160.

To look that they be able in good manner to write true Latine, and a good phrase in prose, before they begin to meddle with making a verse.

That they have read some poetry first; as at least these bookes or the like, or some part of them: *viz. Ovid. de Tristibus, or de Ponto*, some piece of his Metamorphosis, or of *Virgil*, and be well acquainted with their Poeticall phrases.

I finde this a most easie and pleasant way to enter them; that for all the first books of Poetry which they learn in the beginning, they use to reade them dayly out of the Grammaticall translations: first resolving every verse into the Grammaticall order, like as it is in the translation; after into the Poeticall, turning it into verse, as the words are in the Poet: according as I shewed the manner before, in the benefit and use of the translations. For the making of a verse, is nothing but the turning of words forth of the Grammaticall order, into the Rhetoricall, in some kinde of metre; which we call verses. And withall, that in reading thus out of the translations, they use to give the Poeticall Phrases, to our English phrases, set in the Margents, and also the Epithetes.

For this practice of reading their Poetry, out of the translations into verse, a little triall will soone shew you, that very children will doe it as fast almost as into prose: and by the use of it, continually turning prose into verse, they will be in a good way towards the making a Verse, before they have learned any rules thereof.⁵¹

In *Time Vindicated* (1623) Ben Jonson had satirized the elder Gil as the schoolmaster who was turning the works of George Wither into "pure Satiricke Latine" and making his boys to learn him. Turning contemporary English poetry into Latin verse is still practiced in English public schools,⁵² and the evidence points to Milton's practicing the exercise under Dr. Gil.

In explaining the exercises in verse writing for more advanced classes which read Virgil, Hoole advises the same general plan which he had recommended for Ovid: memorize, construe, parse, scan, prove, and explain phrases, epithets, and proper names. He adds:

⁵¹ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 192.

⁵² Cyril Connolly records that at his school A. E. Housman's poems were given him to turn into Latin verse. Connolly, *The Condemned Playground* (New York, 1946), p. 50.

As they read this Author, you may cause them sometimes to relate a pleasing story in good English prose, and to try who can soonest turn it into elegant Latine, or into some other kinde of verses which you please for the present to appoint them, either English or Latine, or both.⁵³

And for more advanced classes he adds later on: "Now for diligent practise in this kind of exercise, they may constantly comprise the sum of their Themes in a Distich, Tetrastiche, Hexastich, or more verses, they grow in strength."⁵⁴

One might conclude that Hoole had his copy of Brinsley open before him at the page which reads:

By this practice kept duely, to make some such verses twice in the day . . . or of a sodaine ever before they are to play, to versifie of some Theame not thought of: and secondly, by causing them to bring the summe of their Theames written under their Theames, comprized in a Disticke, or two moe, you shall finde that they will grow in so good sort, as shall be requisit to make you verses *extempore* of any usuall Theame.⁵⁵

From appending a verse summary to their own themes in prose to the composition of themes in verse was but a step. For the final form, the sixth according to his scheme, Hoole recommends that the boys make themes and verses in Greek and in Latin:

They should often also vie wits amongst themselves, and strive who can make the best *Anagrams*, *Epigrams*, *Epitaphes*, *Epithalamia*, *Eclogues*, *Acrostics*, and *golden verses*, English, Latine, Greek, and Hebrew; which they will easily do, after a while, having good patterns before them to imitate, which they may collect out of Authours, as they fansie them, for their owne use and delight.⁵⁶

The boys could, of course, collect into their own commonplace books for their own use and delight the purple patches of style and gems of thought from their own reading of exquisite and pure poets. But they did not need to. They could

⁵³ Hoole, *A New Discovery*, p. 180.

⁵⁵ Brinsley, *Ludus Lit.*, p. 195.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵⁶ *A New Discovery*, p. 201.

use the handbooks which Brinsley and Hoole recommend. In place of their own commonplace books Brinsley says they can:

Referre all such principall places for imitation, to the heads in *Flores Poetarum*; which may serve in steade thereof.

For variety and copy of Poeticall phrases, the *Thesaurus Phrasium poeticarum* gathered by *Buchlerus* of the last edition.

For store of Epithetes, which if they bee choyse, are a singular ornament, and meanes of speedinesse in this faculty, and so for all other matters belonging to Poetrie, Textor his *Epithetae* of the largest and of the last Edition, printed at Lions, *M. D. Cij*, may be a great helpe.⁵⁷

Omitting some Helps to Schoolboy Authors which were not available to Milton, we find Hoole in agreement: "For invention of further matter . . . they may sometimes imitate places out of the purest Poets (which *Mr. Farnabies Index Poeticus* will point them to, besides what they finde in *Flores Poetarum* . . .) Textor will sufficiently supply choyce Epithites."⁵⁸

That Milton was familiar with some if not all of these aids to verse writing is extremely probable. In discussing possible influence of Buchanan on Milton's paraphrases of the Psalms, Harding says, "Many of Milton's epithets and phrases, so frequently described as having great power and sometimes attributed to the influence of Buchanan, could have been translated straight out of Buchler's *Index Poeticus*."⁵⁹ In *An Apology &c.* Milton shows his familiarity with the rhetorical terminology when he sneers at Hall's "officious epithet,"⁶⁰ and exclaims, "Was this the flower of all thy *Synonyma's*."⁶¹ When, in the anti-classical mood of *Paradise Regained*, he puts a stinging attack on Greek poetry

⁵⁷ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 196.

⁵⁸ *A New Discovery*, p. 186. The full title of the *Flores Poetarum* will betray its nature: *Illustrium Poetarum Flores per Octavium Mirandulam, collecti, & in locos communi digesti*. It arranges alphabetically under subject headings quotations from the poets.

⁵⁹ *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid.*, p. 30, note 7.

⁶⁰ *Columbia Milton*, III, 289.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

into the mouth of the Saviour, he says of meretricious rhetoric:

Remove their swelling Epithetes thick laid
As varnish on a Harlots cheek (IV, 343-4.)

That as a mature poet he had outgrown the need and use of grammar school aids to ailing poems is clear. It does not suggest that he did not use these and other such aids as a boy.

The whole procedure used in the grammar schools for entering boys to Latin versification must have been quite familiar to Milton. In recapitulation let us note that in the late seventeenth century curriculum used at St. Paul's School the boys had read Ovid *De tristibus* in the Third Form. They had read in *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* in the Fourth Form, had turned and proved verses, and had turned stories "in Heathen Gods" into Latin. In the Fifth Form they read Virgil and Martial, turned Psalms into Latin verse, wrote moral themes, and turned stories "in Heathen Gods" into Latin. In the Sixth Form they continued with Virgil, wrote moral themes and dictamen, including "A Morall Theme for Latin verse or other exercise."⁶²

Several of Milton's verses in the ancient tongues, whether he wrote them in school or later, are moral themes in verse. The Elegy on early rising I have already pointed out as a possible paraphrase of the prose prologue on the same subject. It is also a moral theme. The *Apologus de Rustico & Hero*, whether a translation or a paraphrase, is likewise a moral theme in the form of a fable which Milton might have written in school. Likewise the Greek verses intitled *Philosophus ad regem* would fulfill the requirements of a moral theme in Greek verse if such an assignment were imposed on Milton in the Eighth Form. These moral themes in Latin and Greek verse give support to the belief that the late seventeenth century curriculum gives a sketch at least of the exer-

⁶² See pp. 111-113.

cises in Latin verse which Milton wrote at St. Paul's School between 1620 and 1625.

Further support is given by Davis P. Harding in *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid*. In a careful study of the Latin poems Milton wrote at Cambridge between 1625 and 1629 Harding shows them to consist "of an intricate network of phrases borrowed from Ovid and other classical models. Sometimes the phrases are borrowed outright; more frequently Milton deliberately varies the original phraseology in accordance with such rules of imitation as those enunciated by Brinsley and Hoole."⁶³

Milton's commonest imitative device is that of varying the phrase which he takes from Ovid and making a different application. Thus Ovid's *refluum mare* is applied to the Thames in place of the ocean and appears as *refluâ . . . undâ*. Thus Ovid's epithet *Lycaonius*, with the transferred meaning "northern," appears in Milton's *Lycaonius . . . Boötes*.⁶⁴ When Milton borrows longer phrases he is careful to place them in different contexts. Sometimes he takes phrases from two different passages of Ovid's and combines them. Harding writes of *In quintum novembris*, referring to Milton's imitation of Ovid's *House of Fame*, "In no other extended passage in the Latin poems is the influence of his grammar school training so clearly and unmistakably present."⁶⁵ Indeed Milton has here combined the accounts in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Æneid* into what might properly be called a synthetic House of Fame of his own. There is very little of it original.

But Milton did not persist in using grammar school methods of imitation. When he came to write *Ad Patrem*, *Mansus*, and *Epitaphium Damonis*, he had freed himself from servile imitative patterns and had mastered an individuality of phrase of his own. In his later great poems in

⁶³ Harding, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47. The phrases are from Milton's Elegies I.9 and V.35.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

English he constantly imitated the classics, not as a schoolboy, but creatively as Virgil had imitated Homer. But enough has been shown to demonstrate that Milton as a schoolboy practiced the same imitative exercises in Latin and Greek versification as were assigned to all the boys at St. Paul's School. Alone of his school fellows he reached to heights of Parnassus, but the lower slopes he trudged up in their company.

THEMES

After exercises in the composition of the Latin Epistle or letter, which Fulwood defined as "nothing else but an Oration written," and the composition of Latin verse, which Brinsley defined as "nothing but the turning of words forth of the Grammatical order, into the Rhetoricall, in some kind of metre," we approach a different and more advanced rhetorical exercise, the prose theme, which had been assigned as preliminary training for oratory from remote antiquity.⁶⁶ Quintilian calls these preliminary exercises in rhetoric, "rudiments of oratory [*dicendi primordia*]" for the pupils who are too young for the school of rhetoric⁶⁷ and as such assigns them to the grammar school. The Greek name for these exercises is "Progymnasmata," which Priscian in his translation of the *Progymnasmata* of Hermogenes renders as *Praeexercitamenta rhetoricae*. But in the English schools they were simply "themes," and prepared the boys for such advanced exercises as the composition of declamations and orations. "Theme" in the Renaissance had the same double meaning it has today. It meant both the subject on which one spoke [*argumentum*] and also the school composition on the subject. When Milton sums up a point in rebuttal, in *Eikonoklastes*, with "Which is the outworn theme, and stuffing of all his discourses,"⁶⁸ he uses theme in the first sense. One adds the stuffing and gets the discourse or theme in the second

⁶⁶ Emile Jullien, *Les Professeurs de littérature dans l'ancienne Rome* (Paris, 1885), pp. 282-331; Reichel, *Quaestiones progymnasmaticae* (Leipzig, 1909).

⁶⁷ Quint. I, ix, 1.

⁶⁸ Columbia Milton, V, 161.

sense. Of course Milton is deliberately insulting the author of *Eikon Basilike* by applying to him the vocabulary of the grammar school theme, but in all seriousness the schoolmasters were trying to teach their boys how to "stuff a theme" by using all the traditional methods of rhetorical amplification. The methods were appropriate to the age and experience of the boys, and I shall explain them in some detail, but first let us examine some statements of the ultimate end involved in teaching the boys to compose themes and some objections to the commoner procedure.

First let us consider Brinsley, who is rarely a bad witness for what most intelligent schoolmasters of his day believed:

The principall end of making Theams, I take to be this, to furnish schollers with all store of the choisest matter, that they may thereby learn to understand, speak or write of any ordinary Theame, Moral or Political, such as usually fall into discourse amongst men and in practice of life; and especially concerning vertues and vices. So as to worke in themselves a greater love of the vertue and hatred of the vice, and to be able with soundnesse of reason to draw others to their opinion.⁶⁹

I wish to bring into the same frame Milton's very similar views, for Milton too recognized that the rhetorical exercises of the schools were of value only as the student, when he reached manhood, should carry over into the service of the community what he had learned of rhetoric in the schools. He was determined to do this himself, although, as he points out, many a man fails to recognize in the world of affairs the same embodiment of evil which he had learned to condemn. I quote, in translation, from the *Pro Se Defensio* (1655):

We, who as boys [*adolescentes*] are accustomed under so many masters to sweat out eloquence in the shade [*exudare eloquentiam*] and who are convinced that the force of demonstrative oratory is in vituperation scarcely less than in praise, may indeed bravely and safely scourge the names of ancient tyrants. And as it happens, we kill Mezentius over again in stale antitheses; or, in the rueful bellowing of enthymemes, we roast, with a daintiness more exquisite than in his

⁶⁹ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 174-175.

own bull, the Agrigentine Phalaris. I allude to those who were trained in the grammar schools [*palaestra*]: for such are the men, whom, in a republic, we most delight to honor and adore—such we fondly style most potent, and most magnificent, and most august! But yet it was expected that those who thus spent a good part of their youth in literary exercises [*in ludicro*—*ludus literarius* is a grammar school] in the shade, should, at some after period, when the country, when the republic stood in need of their services, throw aside their foils, and dare the sun, the dust, and the field; that they should at last have the courage to use in their contests hands and arms of flesh and blood, to brandish real weapons, to encounter a real enemy. We persecute with no small hostility indeed, some, the Suffenuses and Sophists; some, the Pharisees, the Simons, the Hymenaeuses, the Alexanders: for all these are ancients. But when we find them brought to life again, and appearing in the modern church, we praise them in eulogies, we honour them with professorships and stipends, as patterns of all excellence, as prodigies of learning, as mirrors of sanctity. . . . My way of thinking is, I confess, far enough removed from this, as I have shown by my conduct on more occasions than one. If, as a boy [*adolescens*], in my scholastic studies [*in otio literarum*] I have profited from the precepts of the learned or from my own evening hours of study, it is my purpose, as far as my infirmity will permit, and if I may hope to perform anything on so wide a field, to contribute the whole to increase the welfare of life and of human kind.⁷⁰

In this passage Milton is not condemning the exercises of theme writing and grammar school declamation. He is condemning grown men for having forgotten the love of virtue and hatred of vice which these exercises were planned to teach them along with "soundness of reason to draw others to their opinion."

There is another fault which Milton and other writers in his age found with theme writing as taught in schools and universities. It was said that the teaching of theme writing was premature and beyond the capacity of children. Francis Bacon, indeed, in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), makes the same criticism of university curricula:

⁷⁰ Columbia *Milton*, IX, 223–227. I follow the Burnett-Hadas translation save in the technical use of figurative words, applied to grammar schools from the vocabulary of the gymnasium and the palaestra. Mezentius, Phalaris, and Alexander were stock targets for grammar school vituperation.

Scholars in universities come too soon and too unripe to logic and rhetoric; arts fitter for graduates than children and novices; for these two, rightly taken, are the gravest of sciences; being the arts of arts, the one for judgment, the other for ornament; and they be the rules and directions how to set forth and dispose matter; and therefore for minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not yet gathered that which Cicero called *sylva* and *suppellex*, stuff and variety, to begin with those arts . . . doth work but this effect, that the wisdom of those arts, which is great and universal, is almost made contemptible, and is degenerate into childish sophistry and ridiculous affectation. And further, the untimely learning of them hath drawn on by consequence the superficial and unprofitable teaching and writing of them, as fitteth indeed to the capacity of children.⁷¹

Brinsley, discussing the teaching of children in the grammar school, makes similar criticisms of the usual methods of entering boys to the writing of themes before they have been "acquainted by reading with matter and phrase" sufficient to prepare them to undertake the task. But he is much more easily satisfied than Bacon with a modicum of matter "To the end that they may have presidents and patterns for Theames, like as they had for their Epistles and for making Latine, some book is to be chosen which is written to this purpose, and such a one as is most easie, both for the sweetest Latine and choisest matter."⁷²

It is in this setting that we should consider Milton's similar complaints against premature writing and speaking. In his Seventh Prolusion, the last of his university Orations and the most mature, he says in his exordium:

Although, my hearers, nothing is more delightful and pleasing to me than your presence, and than an attentive throng of gowned gentlemen, also than this honor-bearing oratorical exhibition, in which at one time and another I have taken part among you, the task being not disagreeable; nevertheless, if it be allowable to mention what is a fact, it always so happens that, although neither my natural bent [*ingenium*] nor course of studies [*studiorum ratio*] have much disqualified me for oratory, I hardly ever undertake speaking of my own free will and accord. If it had been in my power, I would gladly indeed

⁷¹ *Advancement of Learning*, ed. by W. A. Wright (Oxford, 1891), p. 81.

⁷² *Ludus Lit.*, p. 175.

have avoided the exertion of this evening, especially, because I have learned from the books and from the opinions of the most learned men this, that in the orator as in the poet nothing commonplace or mediocre can be allowed, and that he who wishes deservedly to be and to be considered an orator ought to be equipped and perfected with a certain encompassing support of all the arts and all the sciences.⁷³ Since my age does not permit this, I have preferred up to the present, while providing myself with these supports, to strive earnestly after that true reputation by long and severe toil, rather than to snatch a false reputation by hurried and premature composition.⁷⁴

There is something of urbane rhetoric in this exordium, as in the exordium of *Lycidas*, which aims to disarm adverse criticism by an assumed humility which speaks of premature composition and "Berries harsh and crude." Brinsley was teaching boys to excuse themselves in their orations "by their tender yeeres, want of experience and of practice in that kinde."⁷⁵ But there is no question that Milton believed that boys were exercised in theme writing long before they were sufficiently well informed with something to say. His most explicit attack on premature theme writing is in *Of Education* (1644):

We do amiss to spend seven or eight years meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latine and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to Schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of Children to compose Theams, Verses and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment and the final work of a head fill'd by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the Nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit: besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against Latin and Greek *idiom*, with their untutor'd *Anglicisms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continu'd and

⁷³ His "omnium Artium, omnisque Scientiae circulari" is the *enkyklios paideia* of Greek culture, whence it reached Cicero, Milton's immediate source, who says, "Nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus." *De orat.* I, vi, 20.

⁷⁴ *Columbia Milton*, XII, 246-249. I have revised the translation somewhat.

⁷⁵ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 189.

judicious conversing among pure Authors digested, which they scarce taste.⁷⁶

In Milton's protest against barbarous idiom and untutored Anglicism, "odious to be read," a modern English teacher will be quick to recognize the agonized exasperation of the harassed theme reader. (Milton had been teaching for four years.) That he is describing the teaching of themes at St. Paul's School is, however, extremely doubtful. From the days of Erasmus and Colet the school had based its teaching on a "continu'd and judicious conversing among pure Authors digested." I believe, in fact, that Milton acquired his prejudice in favor of an education based on the authors from his school experiences at St. Paul's. But St. Paul's did teach theme writing also, based on imitation of the authors and on the precepts of art as well. It is time we investigated the system, which changed little from the time Erasmus set it going.

ERASMUS ON THEMES

First let us bear in mind that Erasmus was a leader in the movement to base humanistic education solidly on the foundation of classical authors of the best period. In his *De ratione studii* (1511), which furnished the educational philosophy for Colet's new school of Paul's, he says, "It is not by learning rules that we acquire the power of speaking a language, but by daily intercourse with those accustomed to express themselves with exactness and refinement, and by copious reading of the best authors." Colet makes the same point in his *Æditio*: "Let hym [the pupil] above al besyly lerne & rede good latyn authours of chosen poetes and oratours, and note wysely how they wrote and spake, and studi alway to folowe them."⁷⁷ Since the purpose of humanistic education was to train the boys to speak and write the pure chaste Latin, not merely to read Latin and Greek readily,

⁷⁶ Columbia *Milton*, IV, 277-278.

⁷⁷ I quote Erasmus and Colet fully and discuss this matter of the authors on pages 103-104.

practice exercises formed an essential step toward mature accomplishment. It is against this background of humanistic educational philosophy that Erasmus' doctrine of themes should be viewed. I shall translate rather fully from the *De ratione studii*,⁷⁸ interrupting from time to time to put in a word of explanation.

Erasmus advises that after the boys have mastered accidence and syntax, and have some practice in Latin conversation, and have read some simple authors, they should begin the making of short and elementary themes; he is adding nothing, he says, to what Quintilian has taught:

When the time comes to set themes for the boys' exercises, the teacher should take care lest (as happens too often) he set a theme unsuitable in subject or insipid in phrasing; let him rather set a theme that has vigor of expression or attractiveness of idea, one not too remote from the boys' own interests, so that what the boys learn in the interim will prepare them for more serious studies in the future. The themes the teacher sets the boys may be drawn from history. For example: "The rash impetuosity of Marcellus ruined the affairs of Rome; the prudent delay of Fabius restored them." Here is an underlying moral idea, that rash counsels too seldom lead to a happy outcome. Again, and this is a difficult one, "Which of the two was more foolish, Crates, who threw his gold into the sea, or Midas, who thought that nothing was more precious than gold?" Again, "Unrestrained eloquence brought destruction to Demosthenes and Cicero." Or again, "No praise can exceed the merits of King Codrus, who held that his own life should be expended for the safety of his subjects." But it is no great trouble to collect plenty such themes from the historiographers, especially from Valerius Maximus.

Or you may draw themes from fables, thus, "Hercules gained immortality for himself by destroying monsters." "The Muses rejoice in the fountain and the grove; they shun the smoky cities of men." Or one can draw themes from apologues thus, "It is not right to burden a friend with a difficulty that you are able to take care of yourself." "Everyone sees the bag that hangs on the breast; no one sees the one which hangs behind." "It was a wise fox which preferred to remain infested with satiated flies than to be rid of them only to be attacked by another herd of hungry flies which would suck his blood."⁷⁹ Or you

⁷⁸ The passages on themes are in *Opera* (1703), I, 524-526.

⁷⁹ This fable is from Arist. *Rhet.* II, 20.

can set themes from apothegms: "Far from the common herd of our degenerate days was he who preferred the man without money to money without the man." "Socrates condemned those who, instead of eating to live, live to eat." "Cato did not approve those who care more for the pleasures of the palate than for the nature of the soul." Or you can take them from proverbs; thus: "Let the cobbler stick to his last." "Not everyone who wants to can go to Corinth." There are plenty of them in my *Adagia*; they are not difficult to find. Or you can set themes from *sententiae*, thus: "Out of sight out of mind." Or you can set themes drawn from the natural qualities of things, as "The magnet attracts iron; naphtha, fire." Or from a choice figure of rhetoric, a climax, for instance: "Wealth produces luxury, luxury satiety, satiety ferocity, ferocity the hate of the multitude, hate destruction." Or similitudes, . . . Or allegories, . . . Or the rhetorical figures of *commutatio* or *distributio*, . . . Or some exquisite *elegantia*. It is not necessary to give examples of these. . . . Hence the teacher, who should be seeking them assiduously in good authors, should collect these little flowers of rhetoric wherever he finds them, and present the choice ones as models, even changing their form somewhat to adapt them to the interests and experience of the boys.

Three things are quite clear. The themes Erasmus sets the young boys in grammar school furnish moral guidance and prudential wisdom upon which they are supposed to model their lives, and neat and pointed examples of rhetorical excellence upon which they are supposed to model their Latin style, and tidy bits of edifying matter which they will be expected to get *memoriter* in order to have them available for use in their more advanced themes, declamations, and orations. As Quintilian points out in the passage Erasmus doubtless had in mind, young boys were expected to do little with these themes but to reproduce them orally and in writing in plain and correct language. Their paraphrases might be longer or shorter than the original theme. They might rewrite the theme in a different tense, person, or number. "Little stories from the poets should be handled by boys not with a view to eloquence, but to increase their knowledge."⁸⁰

Erasmus next takes up the writing of more advanced and

⁸⁰ Quint. I, ix, 2-6.

difficult themes which involve the gathering of material and its arrangement in a sequence:

After the boy has advanced to some skill in the use of language, then, if it seem good, let him be recalled to the precepts of grammar, of an advanced sort, taught by means of rules and examples. . . . But I would rather not keep the boys too long at their grammar, but would recall them directly to the greater authors. Especially, as I have said, if they have mastered the main points of rhetoric, the figures of speech, the forms of verse. In the mean time they should be exercised in the writing of more difficult themes, assigned and explained by a diligent and learned teacher. Patterns for the themes might be something as follows. Now the outline for a letter, brief but to the point, may be assigned in the vernacular to be developed in Latin, Greek, or in both. Now an apologue. Now a brief narrative, not too insipid. Now a *sententia* constructed of four parts, each developed with two similies or reasons. Now an argument constructed of five parts; a dilemma of two. Now an *expolitio* as they call it constructed of seven parts.⁸¹ So at some time or other the boys practice the elementary exercises of rhetoric [*rhetorica praeludentes*], taking them up separately, one at a time. That is the plan Aphthonius followed in his *Progymnasmata*. At one time praise, blame, fable, similitude, comparison. At another time figures, or description, division, disputation, classification, characterization.⁸²

Erasmus goes on to recommend exercises in paraphrase, from poetry to prose and from prose to poetry, imitation of the epistles of Pliny and Cicero, the treatment of the same subject in different styles, and the translation of Greek into Latin, which he recommends highly. He then points out how the teacher should prepare the boys to handle a theme by a prelection on models and by a *sermo* of prevision to guide them in their work:

Among the exercises in theme writing should be introduced frequent prelection of authors in order to supply models for imitation. For the teacher who sets a theme should indicate a wealth [*copia*] of words

⁸¹ *Rhet. ad Heren.*, IIII, 56-58, gives a model for a seven part *expolitio*, which Erasmus transferred to *De Copia Rerum*, and Sherry translated in *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550), p. 77.

⁸² Erasmus is not referring to the expanded Latin Aphthonius, with scholia of Lorich, first printed in 1542, which by Milton's time was used in practically all schools.

and figures which the students may draw on. Now the boys are to be stimulated to the labor of discovering material [*ad inveniendi*] to amplify the bare argument assigned, so that they procure by their own exertions such pertinent matter as will adorn or enrich the theme. To discriminate amongst the variety of material I should require a diligent and learned teacher; I shall give an example. Often the teacher will assign an epistle the theme of which will be suatory, or dissuatory, hortatory, dehortatory, narrative, gratulatory, expostulatory, commendatory, consolatory. For each of these sorts the teacher will indicate the common topics and formularies, then set the theme of the assignment. Sometime he will assign a theme for declamation in one of the diverse classes of oratory. For instance in the demonstrative class he may direct the boys to denounce Julius Caesar or to praise Socrates. Straightway the best method must be taught. In the suatory class he may assign these themes: Wealth will not bring happiness. A mother should nourish her infant with her own milk. One should, or should not, study Greek literature. One should take a wife, or not take a wife. One should go on a journey to foreign parts, or not. Or in the judicial class of oratory he may assign this theme: Marcus Horatius' punishment [of his sister] was too severe.⁸³

Erasmus then shows in some detail that before the boys begin their exercises in any rhetorical form, that the teacher should point out what arguments should be used, what formulae, what plan of presentation should be used, what means of amplification and adornment. He then proceeds with the teacher's proper methods in correcting themes:

When he corrects the exercises the teacher should point out what is happily devised in rhetorical invention, in treatment, in imitation. He will admonish the boy if he has omitted something or misplaced it, if he has overdone something or been remiss, if he has been obscure or awkward. He will point out what improvements could be made, and will often require the boy to incorporate these improvements in a rewritten version. But his chief end will be to stimulate his pupils, comparing the progress of one with the other, so that they will strive with one another in emulation.

COMMONPLACE BOOKS

The foregoing brief summary of Erasmus on themes will serve to give a fair general idea how theme writing was

⁸³ The story is in Valerius Maximus vi, 3 and in Cicero, *De inv.*, II, xxvi.

taught at St. Paul's School when Milton was a pupil, for Erasmus established a method of teaching the Latin theme which persisted throughout the seventeenth century, appearing in the treatises of Brinsley and Hoole, and modified only in detail by new fashions in textbooks. His own textbook, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, prepared for use at St. Paul's School and prefaced with an Epistle to Dean Colet (1512) helped to supply words and matter for the juvenile theme writer. It was an exceedingly popular text in the sixteenth century and was frequently reprinted in the seventeenth. But it was gradually displaced by Ramian rhetorics for *elocutio*, by Ramian logics for *inventio*, and by Aphthonius for both *inventio* and *dispositio*.⁸⁴ His three famous commonplace books or gleanings of gems from the literature of antiquity were also prepared to furnish themes and material for their development for schoolboys. These were the *Adagia* (1500), *Parabolaes, sive Similia* (1513), and *Apophthegmatum* (1531). Of the latter Erasmus writes in his preface, in the translation of Nicolas Udall,

Young children might moche more to their profect and benefite, be exercised in the Grammer Schooles with themes, or arguments to write on, of this sort [witty sayings which contain edification] so that the schoolemaister dooe open and declare the rewlis and waies, how that which is briefly spoken, may be delated and sette out more at large, and how that that is fondlie spoken . . . may be turned or applied to a serious use and purpose.⁸⁵

Yet by Milton's day these too had been improved upon and supplanted, frequently by having their best features taken over by later books. The improvers also frequently arranged their matter alphabetically under topical headings to make the contents more readily accessible to the harassed schoolboy who had to hand in his theme directly after lunch. Two of the most popular supplanters of Erasmus were the

⁸⁴ W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance*, pp. 61-62.

⁸⁵ *The Apophthegmes of Erasmus*, trans. by Nicolas Udall, reprinted from the ed. of 1564 (Boston, Lincolnshire, printed by Robert Roberts, 1877), p. xxv. First ed. of Udall, 1541.

Apophthegmatum (1555) and *Parabola* (1557) of Lycosthenes (Conrad Wolffhart), usually united in one volume. They were based primarily on Erasmus, and were printed again and again on the Continent and in England. The earliest surviving English edition of Lycosthenes (1635) carries a self-explanatory title page:

Apophthegmata ex probatis Graecae Latinaeque linguae scriptoribus. A Conrado Lycosthene collecta, & per locos communes, juxta Alphebeti seriem digesta. . . . Accesserunt Parabola sive Similitudines, ab Erasmo ex Plutarcho & aliis olim excerptae, deinde per Lycosthenam dispositae. Londini, 1635.

The preface announces that the *sententiae* and *similitudes* will be beneficial for everyone, "not alone to improve eloquence [*ad bene dicendum*], but, what is far more important, to further good conduct [*ad bene agendum*]." If the writer of themes or books wishes to find something about imitation, as I did, he consults the Index and turns to page 287, and finds among other stories and bright remarks, this one extracted from Erasmus. Alexander had gone to Ephesus and there greatly admired a lifelike painting of himself. His horse neighed at the picture of the horse in the same painting, deceived by the imitation. Apelles said, "O king, your horse is better represented in the painting than you are."

Brinsley urges that boys use such collections and store-houses of matter and substance as Erasmus' *Adagia*, Aphthonius, and Lycosthenes. These, he says, "may serve instead of many, for Schollers who are of understanding and judgement to use them aright, chusing out the summe of the most excellent matter, and making it their owne; composing everything fitly, without apparent stealing out of any."⁸⁶

Later, in his *A Consolation for our Grammar Schools* (1622), he adds to his recommendations of "helpes for Theames both for matter and maner. . . . For matter, viz for short, witty, and easie Sentences for the younger sort, Maister Drax his *Bibliotheca Scholastica*."⁸⁷ The edition

⁸⁶ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 182.

⁸⁷ *A Consolation*, p. 67.

of Thomas Drax published in London, 1616, carries an explanatory subtitle, "*Or, A Treasurie of ancient Adagies, and Sententious Proverbs . . . Ranked in Alphebeticall order, and suited to one and the same sense.*"

For rhetorical *exempla* Brinsley recommends one of the most ancient and famous of all commonplace books when he writes:

For store of the best examples for Theams both Roman and forren of most morall matters, in stead of new, they may use *Valerius Maximus*.

This is made plain for the better help of the teachers where need is, by two ancient Commentaries together, the one of them by *Oliverus Arzignanensis*, the other by *Badius Ascensius*, expounding everything clearly, and almost grammatically, besides the Annotations of others.⁸⁸

The *De factis dictisque memorabilibus, libri ix* of Valerius Maximus is dedicated to Tiberius and was composed not later than the end of his reign in the year 37. It is a collection of rhetorical *exempla*, for the most part from Roman history, arranged by topics. For example, Book I deals with religion, auspices, omens, and the like. Book II gives *exempla* of clemency, gratitude, duty, affection, patriotism. Book IX, with lust, cruelty, anger, perfidy, and like themes. In his preface Valerius announces that his purpose is to save his readers the trouble of going to historical sources to search out such illustrative anecdotes. As he presents them they are readily available for use by the rhetorician or the student of rhetoric.⁸⁹

Milton was familiar with *The Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, if not in his school days, then soon after. In his *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* (1669) he quotes from

⁸⁸ *A Consolation*, p. 67.

⁸⁹ Valerius Maximus, *De factis dictisque memorabilibus*, ed. prin., 1470. First ed. with commentary of Oliverus, 1487; with both Oliverus and Badius, 1513. The Bridgewater copy at the Huntington Library bears date of 1612. There is an English trans. by Speed, London, 1678. For discussion of Valerius see J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (New York, 1930), Chap. II; A. Gwynn, *Roman Education* (Oxford, 1926), p. 172; E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1909), I, 303.

Valerius twice to illustrate syntax: the agreement of a verb with its subject and the use of the accusative with the infinitive.⁹⁰ He also cites Valerius as a source for the following moral anecdote, which he repeats in *The History of Britain* (1670):

In this confused fight *Scaeva a Roman Souldier*, having press'd too farr among the *Britans*, and besett round, after incredible valour shewn, single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline: which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherin valour, and ingenuity so much out-weigh'd transgression, easily made amends and preferr'd him to be a Centurian.⁹¹

After recommending Valerius Maximus, Brinsley continues with further recommendations of works of reference of value to the writer, especially to the schoolboy:

For further help of Theames, both Latin and Greek, *Stobaeus* sentences, or his *Anthologia* of the largest: a most excellent worke, gathered & digested by him Common place wise, in Greeke, out of all the famous Greeke Authors, translated into Latin by *Gesnere* that learned Phisitian, having the Latin set over-against the Greek, and may be singular for acquainting the higher and better sort of scholars, with the best morall matter of sundry kindes.⁹²

For phrases in general, Maister *Drax* his *Calliepeia*.

For some select Phrases to this purpose, and the like, Maister *Farnabees* phrases.

The *Calliepeia*, like *Drax's Bibliotheca Scholastica*, explains itself with an English subtitle: *A Rich Storehouse of proper, choice, and elegant Latine Wordes and Phrases, collected (for the most part) out of Tullies workes, and for*

⁹⁰ Columbia *Milton*, VI, 329, 346.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, X, 38.

⁹² Brinsley, *A Consolation*, p. 67, is referring to Joannis Stobei *Sententiae ex thesaurus Graecorum delectae . . . et in sermones sive locos communis digestae, nunc primum a C. Gesnero . . . in Latinum sermonem traductae*, etc., 1543. Farnaby edited a similar collection which seems to have superseded Gesner. The Latin subtitle reads, *Florilegium Epigrammatum Graecorum, eorumque Latino versu a variis rectorum*, 1629. It, too, is arranged "common place wise" under heads of "In justitiam," "In amorem," etc. All entries save one give Latin versions of the Greek. This is an English verse by Francis Bacon put in Greek by Farnaby.

the use and benefit of Schollars digested into an Alphabetical Order, by Thomas Drax, London, 1607. Drax lists the English words alphabetically, with six or more Latin words and phrases of the same or similar meaning. The earliest edition I know of Farnaby's *Phrases Oratoriae elegantiores et poeticae* is the eighth, published in London in 1628. I do not know the date of the first edition, but since Brinsley is citing Farnaby in 1622, it must have been early enough, as Drax was, for Dr. Gil to use in his classes at St. Paul's School while Milton was a pupil.

Following the lead of the schoolbooks written in Latin and planned to teach grammar school boys to write Latin themes came a lively crowd of commonplace books and phrase books in English, for the most part translated or adapted from them, for the benefit of middle class seekers after culture who had not attended grammar school or who had lost much of the Latin they had there acquired.⁹³ But since Milton could not have been required or encouraged to study them in school, we shall pass them by.

Since Erasmus had set the vogue which resulted in the terrifying accumulation of mechanical "Helpes of Theames," we might find it a sad paradox that, enthusiastic lover of great literature himself, he had helped to perpetuate a pedagogical tendency as old as rhetoric itself to substitute compends and digests of literature for literature itself. In the hands of perceptive and well-read teachers who based their teaching on the reading of the authors, the ready-made commonplace books, phrase books, books of synonyms and the like, probably did no more harm than Webster, Bartlett, or Roget today. But as short-cuts and substitutes for contact with literature itself the "Helpes" could and can today be stultifying.

I believe that this difference is what Milton had in mind

⁹³ W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric*, pp. 26-48. Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, pp. 145-155.

when, in *The Reason of Church Government* (1641), he distinguishes "learned pains from unlearned drudgery." The former, which he marks out for approval, is based on "industrious and select reading, steddy observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affaires." He heaps scorn on his prelatical opponents "whose learning and beleif lies in marginal stuffings."⁹⁴

Hence if a boy or a man wished to base his learning on his own industrious and select reading of authors rather than on secondhand compilations, he might keep a commonplace book of his own in which he could enter select matter from his reading, much as he might keep a paper book in which he entered select gems of rhetorical elocution. The manner of keeping a commonplace book by the student for his own behoof is clearly and simply explained by Vives, as translated by Morysine in 1540:

And if thou perceyve any thing taken of the wise sort, or to be spoken quckely, gravely, learnedlye, wyttilye, comely, beare in mynde, that thou mayst, whan thou shalte have occasion; use the same. Thou shalt have alwayes at hand a paper boke, wherein thou shalte write such notable thynges, as thou redest thyself, or herest of other men worthy to be noted, be it other feate sentence, or word, mete for familiar speche, that thou maist have in a redynes, what tyme requireth.⁹⁵

The value of commonplace books kept by the reader for his own use is attested to by Francis Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning*: "I hould the Entrie of Common places, to bee a matter of Great use and essence in studying; as that which assureth copie of Invention and contracteth Iudgment to a strength."⁹⁶ That he kept his own books of commonplaces to good purpose is made manifest by his essays which are clearly developed from them.

⁹⁴ Columbia Milton, III, 241-242.

⁹⁵ *An Introduction to Wisdome, made by Ludovicus Vives and translated into Englishe by Rycharde Morysine*, 1540. Aiii recto. Quoted from W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric*, p. 32.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, Book II (1605), p. 58.

Milton's own *Commonplace Book*, found by Alfred J. Horwood who published the text for the Camden Society in 1876 (revised in 1877) consisted of 126 leaves. It contains many entries in Milton's own hand as well as in the hands of Edward Phillips and other amanuenses. The hands can be identified in the facsimile which Horwood published, also in 1865. In the Columbia edition entries in foreign tongues, chiefly Latin and Italian, have been translated.⁹⁷

Milton has classified his entries under three major heads: Ethicus, Oeconomicus, and Politicus. An Index Legalis was discovered in the Columbia manuscript,⁹⁸ and an Index Theologicus, not now known, may be inferred from cross references in the *Commonplace Book*. Each of the main heads is divided into appropriate subheads. Thus the Economic Index, the smallest, is divided into food, dress, marriage, concubinage, education, divorce, slavery, adultery, riches, poverty, alms, and usury.

As illustrative samplings from the *Commonplace Book* I shall quote characteristic entries on poetry and education. Under "De Poetica" Milton cites from Bede a reference to "an Englishman who suddenly by an act of God became a poet." From the Preface to Basil's First Homily on the Psalms he quotes:

For when the Holy Spirit saw that mankind could be led with difficulty to virtue and was careless about upright living because of its inclination toward pleasure, what did it do? It mixed with the dogmas the pleasure of poetry in order that through the charm and smoothness of the sounds we might unconsciously receive the benefit of the words.⁹⁹

From Chaucer's *Physician's Tale* he gets a reference in an entry under "De Liberis Educandis." In educating children he urges,

not to labour, as most men doe to make them bold and pert while they are young which ripens them too soon, and true boldnes and spirit is not bred but of vertuous causes which are wrought in them by sober

⁹⁷ Columbia *Milton*, XVIII, 128-220; notes on pp. 505-510.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-227.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 139 (trans. N. G. McCrea).

discipline to this purpose Chaucer speaking of feasts, and revells and daunces such things maken children for to be too soon ripe and bold as men may see, which is full perillous &c.¹⁰⁰

The *Commonplace Book* as we have it reflects the nature of the filing system used by a mature scholar, who assembled matter against future use in his publications on education, marriage and divorce, kings and tyrants, government of church and state. The commonplace book entries Milton doubtless made as a schoolboy would have been less mature and probably more moral and literary than political and theological.

In *An Apology &c.* Milton shows that he knows how commonplace book cullings may be used and misused. In two passages he sneeringly suggests that Bishop Hall has made groundless accusations against him merely because he had some stock material about and felt he had to use it. These references illustrate how themes in school were written and from what sources. Hall, says Milton, "let drive at randome, lest he should lose his odde ends which from some penurious Book of Characters he had been culling out and would faine apply."¹⁰¹ And again, "He imagines *me to drink Sack and sweare*, meerly because this was a shred in his common place-book, and seem'd to come off roundly."¹⁰²

While Milton was still in school his High Master, Alexander Gil, was at work on his *Sacred Philosophy*. In the following passage Gil tells how he was seeking out material for it and also shows how a commonplace book could help to stuff out a declamation:

While I was preparing materials for this building, I read the title of a Mart book, *Abstrusa abstrusorum abstrusissima, primaria Symboli Apostolici abstrusa*. Though I had been more than once gul'd with such titles . . . wherein these writers sweat more, than for anything in the booke besides; yet being interpreted, a pious and very profound meditation of the deep mysteries of the Apostles Creed, I supposed

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154. Milton has modernized as well as ignored Chaucer's division of verse into lines.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, III, 296.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 307.

that such bumbast would never be quilted into a treatise upon the grounds of our Religion; so that I verely hoped that all my labour was at an end. At last having got the book, I found that it was nothing in good earnest, but a declamation only of a certaine springal for exercise sake, into which, as into a common place book hee had gathered the sentences of learned men, wherein they justlie bewaile the miserie of mankind, in his inability to finde out the truth of things, whereupon hee would utterlie shut out the use of reason in matiers of faith . . . out of whose shreds he hath botch't up his declamation, such as it is.¹⁰³

Since this treatise by "Murschell the declamer" was published in 1622, I see no reason to doubt that Gil owned the book before Milton left school for Cambridge. Nor do I see any reason to doubt that Milton was taught to write declamations "for exercise sake," gathering the sentences of learned men into a commonplace book, and, I trust, having faith in Gil and in Milton, without botching his declamations.

THE PLACES OF INVENTION

According to the Ramian system, as we have already seen, the invention of arguments was considered the first part of logic. In ancient treatises of rhetoric invention of arguments [*inventio*] was considered the first part of rhetoric, although rhetoricians recognized that they were applying technics first developed in logic. Thus Quintilian, speaking of the themes of *progymnasmata*, says: "On such subjects did the ancients exercise their faculty of eloquence, borrowing their theory of argument from the logicians."¹⁰⁴

Let us remind ourselves that the invention of arguments, whether logical or rhetorical, meant, not to invent in the modern sense, but to discover, to look for and find, such arguments as would support the probability of a theme or proposition and convince the persons whom the speaker or writer wishes to persuade. But where is the speaker or writer to

¹⁰³ *Sacred Philosophy* (1635), Chap. 11, p. 66, note. Gil refers to Murschelius (Israel) *Abstrusa* & with the subtitle *pia ac profunda meditatio altitudinis mysteriorum symboli apostolici*. Quarto. Argent. 1622. (Bodleian Catalog.)

¹⁰⁴ Quint. II, iv, 41: *a dialecticis argumentandi ratione*.

look for convincing arguments? The answer is deceitfully simple. One looks, according to Cicero, in "the places . . . where the arguments lurk [*locis . . . in quibus latent argumenta*]." ¹⁰⁵ In his *Logica* Milton says substantially the same thing: "So in Greek the invention of arguments is called *topica*, since it contains τὸπικὸν, that is places whence arguments are taken [*locos unde argumenta sumuntur*], and teaches the way and method of inventing arguments well." ¹⁰⁶

Hence it became the duty of teachers of logical and rhetorical invention to explain and classify the "places of argument," the *loci*, the "topics," or the pigeonholes, as it were, where arguments are stored and whence they may be taken. Let me give a very simple example. Two of the most important "places" or "topics" are cause and effect. The teacher asks the student, or the writer asks himself, "What might have caused the situation you are discussing?" "What might be the effects of what you propose?" Two other common topics are comparison and contrast. "What is it like? What is it different from and how?" Two more topics are definition and division. "What is it? What are its parts?" Another topic or place of argument is testimony. "Who said so?" We all recognize, even today, that the asking of these and similar questions helps us to explore any subject of investigation and discover something, at least, of what can be said for or against any hypothesis. Thomas Wilson in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1560) points out very simply how important and useful these or like "places" are:

The places of *Logique* as I saied, cannot bee spared for the confirmation of any cause. For who is he that in confirming a matter, will not know the nature of it, the cause of it, the effect of it, what is agreeing thereunto, what likenesse there is betwixt that and the other thinges, what examples may bee used, what is contrary, and what may be said against it. Therefore I wish that every man should desire, & seeke to have his *Logique* perfit, before he looke to profite in *Rhetorique*, con-

¹⁰⁵ *De part. orat.*, ii, 5.

¹⁰⁶ *Columbia Milton*, XI, 23.

sidering the ground and confirmation of causes, is for the most part gathered out of *Logique*.¹⁰⁷

But of course the old logicians and rhetoricians made it much more involved and complicated than one might gather from Wilson or from me. Aristotle, in his *Topics*, lists hundreds of possible sources of arguments. Cicero in his *Topica*, much used by the schoolmasters at least in the English grammar schools, simplified the topics under seventeen major classes for use by speakers. Quintilian, who called them "seats of argument" [*sedes argumentorum*], lists nine derived from persons and twenty-three from things.¹⁰⁸ In his *De inventione dialectica* (1515) Rudolph Agricola lists twenty-four,¹⁰⁹ which were reproduced by Thomas Wilson in *The Rule of Reason* (1551).¹¹⁰ No wonder Brinsley wrote in his *Ludus Literarius*:

Yet these do seeme to me also farre too hard for children's conceits, who have read no Logike, and over tedious. But the following of those tenne first and chiefe heads of reasoning; to wit, from Causes, Effects, Subjects, Adjuncts, Disagreeable things, Comparisons, Notations, Distributions, Definitions, Testimonies (to one of which each of *Aphthonius* or *Tullies* places do belong) is farre the easiest, surest, and plainest way.¹¹¹

In addition to the places of logic which Brinsley recommends in the simplified list of ten based on Ramus, there are certain places which furnish arguments for various classes of oratory. Thus for forensic oratory there are the places of justice and equity; for demonstrative oratory, the places of virtue and vice; for deliberative oratory, the places of possibility, honor, and expediency. In addition to the common-

¹⁰⁷ *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), ed. Mair (Oxford, 1909), p. 113.

¹⁰⁸ Quint. V, x, 20-94.

¹⁰⁹ Rodolphi Agricola Phrisii *De Inventione Dialectica Libri III. cum Scholiis Iohannis Matthaei Phrissemii, nunc auctis passim, ac recognitis, sublati etiam multis erroribus, qui cum in Rodolpho ipso, tum etiam in Scholiis hactenus animadversi non fuere*. Melchior Novesianus excudebat, 1538. pp. 213-214. My copy.

¹¹⁰ W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric*, pp. 53-54, gives the lists of Cicero, Rudolph, and Wilson.

¹¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

places and the special places there are "circumstances" which the writer or speaker must consider connected with a thing done. Wilson sums these up in a jingle:

Who, what, and where, by what helpe, and by whose:

Why, how, and when, doe many things disclose.¹¹²

And then there are certain "circumstances" connected with a person, such as sex, ancestry and parentage, education, qualities of body, mind and fortune, and manner of death.¹¹³

In the dialog, *De partitione oratoria*, Cicero the son asks his father, "Shall we therefore derive arguments from all of these places?" And Cicero the father replies, "Say rather we shall examine and question them all for arguments." The weaker arguments, he says, are to be rejected as well as those not closely connected with the case at issue.¹¹⁴ This most sensible advice is echoed by Brinsley, who says of boys at school, "Let them practise when they would invent matter, but to runne thorow those places cursorily in their mindes; and if one place do not offer fit matter, another will surely, and furnish them with store."¹¹⁵

Milton was unquestionably inducted into the use of the places of invention at St. Paul's School. But we need not suppose that he went much further with them than Brinsley advises for schoolboys. Elaborate subclassifications of the places and their use in handling difficult questions would normally be studied at the university not in grammar school. But at such a center for the study of Ramian logic as Cambridge was, we may be assured that Milton built upon the simple foundation he received at school. That he did so build is suggested by his own Ramian logic. For Milton's treatment of *inventio* in his *Artis logicae plenior institutio* (1672) is based on the same major places which Brinsley lists, and gives the places in exactly the same order. Let me illustrate, first giving each place, numbered for convenience,

¹¹² *Arte of Rhetorique*, p. 17.

¹¹³ Aphthonius, Chap. VIII. Quint. V, x, 23-31.

¹¹⁵ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 183.

¹¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, iii, 8.

as Brinsley gives it, followed by Milton's chapter captions which indicate how he develops and expands:

1. *Causes* (Of the efficient cause as procreant and conserving; Of the efficient cause singly and with others; Of the efficient cause by itself and by accident; Of matter; Of form; Of the end)
2. *Effects* (Of the effect)
3. *Subjects* (Of the subject)
4. *Adjuncts* (Of the adjunct)
5. *Disagreeable things*, i. e., things which disagree (Of diverse arguments; Of disparates; Of relatives; Of adverses; Of contradictions; Of privatives)
6. *Comparisons* (Of equals; Of greateres; Of lesseres; Of likes; Of unlikes)
7. *Notation* (Of conjugates; Of notation)
8. *Distributions* (Of distribution; Of distribution from the causes; Of distribution from the effects, and also of genus and species; Of distribution from subjects; Of distribution from adjuncts)
9. *Definitions* (Of definition; Of description)
10. *Testimonies* (Of divine testimony; Of human testimony) ¹¹⁶

Returning to the schoolroom from our excursion into Milton's fuller institution of the Art of Logic, we may conclude this section on the invention of arguments with the hopeful words of Brinsley, echoing Cato's "*rem tene verba sequentur.*" The words are, "Store of matter being thus gotten, as I have shewed, will bring words." ¹¹⁷ We have spent a great deal of time and effort in getting matter for our theme. It is time we started to write.

THE PROGYMNASMATA

There have been many references to Aphthonius in our discussions of theme writing as practiced in the schools of Milton's day. Aphthonius has been someone we have been looking forward to and preparing for. Erasmus recommended him, Brinsley thought him difficult but essential, Hoole recommended him, school statutes required him.

¹¹⁶ From the Table of Contents of *The Art of Logic*, Columbia Milton, XI, ix-xi.

¹¹⁷ *Ludus Lit.*, p. 188.

Why? The one thing that made Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* so valuable to schoolmaster and to schoolboy is that Aphthonius shows how themes are written. He gives patterns. He presents a graded series of elementary exercises in theme writing that proceeds from the easy to the more difficult, and builds each exercise on what the boy has learned from previous exercises, repeating somewhat from the previous exercise and adding something that is new. He never takes anything for granted save a teacher in a room full of boys, assembled for the purpose of learning to write themes.

The elementary exercises in theme writing which Aphthonius teaches should be good. They are based on many centuries of grammar school experience. Quintilian explained them in the first century A. D. briefly but with approval.¹¹⁸ Suetonius describes some of them as taught by the earliest Roman teachers in the first century B. C.¹¹⁹ Three textbooks survive to show us what ancient schoolmasters had evolved. These are the *Progymnasmata* of Theon, Hermogenes, and Aphthonius, all Greek teachers of grammar and rhetoric. Hermogenes, a native of Tarsus, lived in the second century. His textbook, translated into Latin by Priscian the grammarian in the fifth century, was very popular in post-classical times and in the Middle Ages.¹²⁰ The most recent of the ancient textbooks to present the elementary exercises is that of Aphthonius, who taught rhetoric in Antioch in the fourth century. His strongest bid for popularity was that he added a brief model theme to each pattern of his formulary. It was this textbook, translated into Latin, annotated elaborately, and amplified with many additional model themes, which held the lead in the English grammar schools from the middle of the sixteenth century.

The *Aphthonius* which Milton probably used was, as I have just indicated, a composite product. The underlying

¹¹⁸ Quint. I, ix, 2; II, i, 1-12.

¹¹⁹ *De rhet.* I.

¹²⁰ C. S. Baldwin's translation of Hermogenes appears in his *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*, pp. 23-38. He used the Teubner text of Hermogenes, ed. Rabe (Leipzig, 1913).

strata are composed of a Latin translation of the original Greek *Aphthonius* edited and combined by Reinhard Lorich from previously published translations by Rudolph Agricola and Joannes Maria Cataneo. In Lorich's edition of 1542 this is overlaid by Lorich's elaborate scholia and augmented by the addition of many more model themes, some written by Lorich and some collected by him from other Renaissance writers. A revised and somewhat enlarged edition appeared in 1546.¹²¹

Lorich also quotes, sometimes rather fully, from other writers on the elementary exercises, more especially from Quintilian and Priscian. I have found no references to this "Priscian" which do not refer to Priscian's Latin version of Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata*. Where Aphthonius echoes Hermogenes closely, as he often does, Lorich does not introduce material from Hermogenes, but does so very freely whenever Hermogenes gives a fuller explanation, or a different example, than Aphthonius. Lorich's failure to identify "Priscian" as Hermogenes, so confusing to modern scholars, resulted naturally enough from the traditional title which displays the translator more emphatically than the author. Thus in the Aldine collection of minor rhetoricians (*De Rhetori*, 1523) we find: *Priscianus de Rhetoricae praeexercitamentis ex Hermogene*, and in *Antiqui Rhetores Latini* (1599) it is entitled *Prisciani Grammatici Caesariensis de Praeexercitamentis Rhetoricae ex Hermogene Liber*. It was Lorich's edition of Aphthonius in Latin with additions from Priscian's Latin Hermogenes that became standard for one hundred and fifty years from its publication in 1546.

The nature of the exercises in Aphthonius, Lorich makes explicit in his scholia to the first exercise. There are fourteen exercises, which introduced the boys to all three classes of rhetoric: Demonstrative rhetoric is represented by Fable,

¹²¹ My copy of Aphthonius is the Elzevire of 1645: *Aphthonii Progymnasmata, Partim a Rodolpho Agricola, partim a Joanne Maria Catanaeo, Latinitate donata, Cum scholiis R. Lorichii*.

Narrative, Chreia, Proverb, Thesis; Judicial rhetoric, by Confirmation, Refutation, Common Place; Demonstrative rhetoric, by Encomium, Vituperation, Impersonation, and Comparison.¹²² I shall endeavor to explain these exercises, point out how they were taught, and illustrate briefly in the order of their appearance in Aphthonius, where each exercise is treated in a separate chapter, the numbers of which I follow.

1. *Fable*

This first assignment was a very simple one for little boys, who were required to do little more than retell the stories from Aesop in an extended or condensed paraphrase, or to turn it from indirect to direct discourse. The boys were to acquire good morals from the fables, a stock of illustrative stories to use in mature oratory, and an increasingly flexible command of Latin style. Milton's *Apologus de Rustico & Hero* is such a fable, but treated as a more advanced exercise because done in verse.

2. *Narrative*

The next assignment involved the retelling of stories from the poets and historians the boys were reading. It aimed, as Quintilian had said, not at eloquence but at knowledge. Aphthonius points out that the narrative themes should make clear: 1) Who performed the action; 2) What was done; 3) The time when; 4) The place where; 5) How it was done; 6) The cause why. The stories, he adds, should possess the virtues of clarity, brevity, probability, and propriety of word use. They were in effect imitative exercises in paraphrase such as I have already explained.

3. *Chreia*

The chreia, like the proverb which follows it as Exercise 4, is an exercise in the amplification or dilation of a theme. In fact the chreia is the Theme par excellence. Both exercises

¹²² Quorum illa sunt generis: *Deliberative*, Fabula, Narratio, Chreia, Sententia, Thesis. *Judicialis*, Confirmatio, Confutatio, Locus communis; *Demonstrative*, Laus, Vituperatio, Imitatio, Comparatio. Aphthonius, 1645, p. 2.

of chreia and proverb taught the pupil both *inventio* and *dispositio*. But let Aphthonius, following Hermogenes very closely, define. "A chreia is a brief account of what a person said or did, for the purpose of edification." The following is his example of a verbal chreia: "Socrates said the root of learning is bitter, but the fruit is pleasant." The following is a chreia of action: "Diogenes, seeing a rude boy, struck his tutor, saying, 'Why did you teach him thus?'" In either sort of chreia the schoolboy was to develop the theme according to the formula laid down as follows: Begin with praise of the sayer or doer; Then a paraphrase or exposition of the theme; Tell why it was said or done; Introduce a contrast; Then a comparison; And an example; Support with confirmatory testimony; Conclude with a brief epilog. [*Laudativo, paraphrastico, causa, contrario, parabola, exemplo, testimonio veterum, brevi epilogo.*]

4. Proverb

Both the Latin Hermogenes and Latin Aphthonius call this exercise *sententia*, a summary saying or statement of general application, persuading, dissuading, or edifying, in Greek *gnome*. It is much the same as the chreia, save that the name of the author of the words is not named. According to Aphthonius it follows the same formula for sequence and is otherwise treated in the same way. Lorch, in his additions to the basic teachings of Aphthonius, quotes an example of a theme developed from a proverb from Priscian's Hermogenes, which I shall now translate for the interesting light it throws on the kind of theme writing Milton's schoolmasters were trying to teach.

Example of a Proverb Drawn from Priscian

THEME: "A counsellor should not sleep all night."

Laudativo. Briefly praise the author of the proverb.

Paraphrastico. Then explain the meaning of the proverb simply, thus: "It is not fitting for a responsible leader of great power to be oppressed by sleep from sunset to dawn or to lie torpid with sloth."

Causa. "A leader should always be alert and ready to give counsel

to his followers, while sleep takes away counsel and causes forgetfulness."

Contrario. "As a private citizen differs from a king, so sleep differs from wakefulness. Thus there is no harm if a private citizen sleeps all night, but it is intolerable if a king is not wakeful, pondering the welfare of his subjects."

Comparatio. "Just as the helmsman of a ship must keep watch for the common safety, even though the others sleep, so an emperor must be fraught with solicitude for his own people."

Exemplo. "Hector, watchful at night and taking thought for the republic, sent Dolon to reconnoiter the Greek ships. The wakeful Scipio stormed the camp of the sleeping Syphax. (Livy, Book 10, of the Punic War.)"

Testimonio veterum. "This Sallust confirms, saying, 'Many mortals dedicated to their bellies and to sleep, bring their ignorant and uncultivated lives to an end like vagrants.'"

Conclusio. This should be hortatory. "We should take counsel with the greatest care and wakefulness concerning all undertakings which we command." ¹²³

I shall now quote McCrea's translation of *An Early Pro-lusion by John Milton* as an example of how a schoolboy followed the formula in Aphthonius. I think the reader will recognize that it was composed not only according to the formula but also with some attention to the foregoing example as a model to be imitated. To draw attention to its pattern I shall break it up into paragraphs and insert the designations as Lorich did for Priscian's version of Hermogenes.

In the Morning Rise up Early.

Laudativo. "'Tis a proverb worn with age, 'It is most healthy to rise at break of day.' Nor indeed is the saying less true than old, for if I shall try to recount in order the several advantages of this, I shall seem to undertake a task of heavy labor."

Paraphrastico. "Rise, then, rise, thou lazy fellow, let not the soft couch hold thee forever."

Causa (Pleasant). "You know not how many pleasures the dawn brings. Would you delight your eyes? Look at the sun rising in ruddy vigor, the pure and healthful sky, the flourishing green of the fields, the variety of all the flowers. Would you delight your ears? Listen to

¹²³ Aphthonius (1645), pp. 101-102.

the clear concert of the birds and the light humming of the bees. Would you please your nostrils? You cannot have enough of the sweetness of the scents that breath from the flowers."

Causa (Profitable). "But if this please you not, I beg you to consider a little the argument of your health; for to rise from bed at early morn is in no slight degree conducive to a strong constitution; it is in fact best for study, for then 'you have wit in readiness.'"

Comparatio. "Besides, it is the part of a good king not to pamper his body with too much sleep, and live a life all holidays and free from toil, but to plan for the commonwealth night and day."

Testimonio veterum. "As Theocritus wisely urges 'It is not well to sleep deep.' And in Homer the Dream thus speaks to Agamemnon 'Sleepest thou, son of wise-minded, horse-taming Atreus?'

'Tis not well for a man of counsel to sleep all night through.'"

Exemplo. "Why do the poets fable Tithonus and Cephalus to have loved Dawn? Surely because they were sparing of sleep; and, leaving their beds, were wont to roam the fields, decked and clad with many-colored flowers."

Contrario. "But to extirpate somnolence utterly, to leave no trace of it, I shall attempt to lay bare the numberless inconveniences that flow to all from it. It blunts and dulls keen talent, and greatly injures memory. Can anything be baser than to snore far into the day, and, to consecrate, as it were, the chief part of your life to death?"

Conclusio. "But you who bear rule, you especially should be wide awake, and utterly rout gripping sleep as it creeps upon you. For many, coming upon enemies, whelmed by heavy sleep, and as it were, buried therein, have smitten them with slaughter, and wrought such havoc as it is pitiful to see or hear of. A thousand examples of this kind occur to me which I could tell with an inexhaustible pen. But if I imitate such Asiatic exuberance, I fear lest I shall murder my wretched listeners with boredom."¹²⁴

Milton clearly found the formula for his theme in Aphthonius as well as a model for imitation. The material about the good king who keeps awake to counsel for the good of the commonwealth is right out of the model. Moreover he need not have gone directly to Homer for his pat quotation, "'Tis not well for a man of counsel to sleep all night through." He would have found it readily in Lorich's scholia to Aphthonius' own example of a proverb, all in Greek, or

¹²⁴ Columbia *Milton*, XII, 288-291.

he may have found it where Lorch seems to have found it, for that worthy scholiast translates from the Greek, "Haud dignum duce, noctem dormire per omnem, ut reddit Erasm. in Proverb." ¹²⁵ The proverb which Dr. Gil set his boys for their theme, "It is most healthy to rise at break of day," can doubtless be found in a number of collections, but Dr. Gil, or Milton if he chose his own theme to write on, could have found it in Lily's *A Short Introduction of Grammar*. Lily uses it to illustrate *The First Concorde* of the verb: "Sometime the Infinitive mode of a verb . . . may be the nominative case to the verb: as Diluculo surgere, saluberrimum est, To arise betime in the morning, is the most holsome thing in the worlde." ¹²⁶

5. Refutation

Aphthonius calls this exercise *Destructio*, but it falls in better with modern usage to follow Priscian's Hermogenes where it appears as *Refutatio*. (Hermogenes includes with it as one exercise *Confirmatio*, of which Aphthonius makes a separate exercise.) It is a very old exercise, one described by Suetonius: "Frequently they attacked the credibility of fables. This type of thesis the Greeks called destructive and constructive." ¹²⁷ This was the first exercise which gave the boys an opportunity to argue for or against anything. Lorch quotes Quintilian as pointing out that the boys need not argue the credibility of myths alone, but the credibility of legends from early history as well. ¹²⁸ The subject matter was thus well adjusted to the capacity and experience of the boys who were reading the poets and the historians and were hence familiar with the stories.

Aphthonius gives as the formula for treatment: "First blame the teller of the story; then give an expository summary of the story; and finally attack it under the following heads. It is obscure, incredible, impossible, does not follow

¹²⁵ Aphthonius (1645), p. 92.

¹²⁶ Facsimile edition, with Introduction by V. J. Flynn (1945), Cv.

¹²⁷ *De rhet.* I.

¹²⁸ Aphthonius (1645), p. 114; Quint. II, iv, 18-19.

logically, unfitting, unprofitable." As his example Aphthonius attacks the credibility of the story of Daphne and Apollo, pointing out that if she were the daughter of the river god Ladon and the Earth, she would have drowned if she were brought up by her father and would have been invisible if brought up by her mother underground. Lorch assembles other model themes including an attack on the stories of Arion and the dolphins and the story of Elphenor turned to a swine by Circe.

6. *Confirmation*

Confirmatio has the same topics and the same formula as *Refutatio*, only the arguments are turned inside out. Thus Aphthonius directs: "First praise the teller of the story; give an expository summary; and confirm the story by showing that it is manifest, probable, possible, follows logically, fitting, profitable."¹²⁹ He then produces a model theme supporting the credibility of the story of Daphne and Apollo. He points out that if Daphne was the daughter of the river god she would take after his nature and would be in no danger of drowning if she lived under water. And what if she would be invisible to men if brought up underground by her mother? It is no more than decent that a young girl should live a sheltered life. Lorch in turn supplies themes supporting the credibility of the stories of Arion and of Elphenor.

This exercise helped to open the boys' minds to the amazing truth that something can be said for as well as against the credibility of an implausible story, just as the exercise in refutation helped them to recognize the equally amazing truth that they need not believe credulously everything they read in a book. These exercises also introduced them, on an elementary level, to "the art of discovering all possible means to persuasion in any subject."

7. *Common Place*

"A commonplace," says Aphthonius, "is an oration enlarging on [*augmentans*] the good or evil which resides in

¹²⁹ Aphthonius (1645), p. 141.

anyone. It is called commonplace because it deals with matter common to all men who partake of the good or evil discussed." ¹³⁰ Lorich correctly quotes in his scholia the statement of Quintilian that in a commonplace one declaims, not against a person, but against the vices, such as adultery, gambling, theft, ¹³¹ and quotes from Priscian's Hermogenes that the commonplace is an amplification [*exaggeratio*] of what is acknowledged to be true. The commonplace, then, assumes the "facts" and gives the boys practice in coloring, dilating, and amplifying the good or bad, throwing a favorable or unfavorable light on the "facts" assumed.

Aphthonius points out that the commonplace gives the student practice in perorating, in rousing the feelings of the auditors, as one needs to do in the epilog of an actual speech. The formula for the *dispositio* of the commonplace and the places of invention to be used are as follows:

Begin with the contrary, analysing it, not to inform, for the facts are assumed, but to incite and exasperate the auditors. Then introduce a comparison to heighten as much as possible the point you are making. After that introduce a proverb, upbraiding and calumniating the doer of the deed. Then a digression, introducing a defamatory conjecture as to the past life of the person accused; then a repudiation of pity. Conclude the exercise with the final considerations of legality, justice, expediency, possibility, decency, and the consequences of the action. ¹³²

The model theme which Aphthonius supplies is one against tyranny, a theme always popular with Milton, as with the teachers of declamation in antiquity. Lorich's additional themes are against drunkenness, sacrilege, disobedience, and avarice.

8. *Encomium*

Quintilian, and Hermogenes after him, included themes in praise and dispraise in one exercise, but Aphthonius separates them to give the boys additional practice in this most important aspect of oratory; for here we have a grammar school adaptation of that part of rhetoric which Aristotle called epideictic and Cicero, demonstrative. The exer-

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

cise called commonplace was a preparation for it. Commonplace enlarged on praise of virtue and dispraise of vice. Encomium praised a person or thing for being virtuous; vituperation attacked a person or thing for being vicious.

Aphthonius defines encomium or praise as "an oration enumerating the good qualities belonging to any thing." Things which can be praised he lists as persons, moral qualities, seasons of the year, places, dumb animals, and plants. The most characteristic encomium is of course that of a person. Aphthonius gives for an encomiastic theme the following elaborate formula:

Begin with an exordium. Then subjoin what stock the person is, divided as follows: of what people, of what country, of what ancestors, of what parents. Then explain his education under the heads of instruction, art, laws. Then introduce the chief of all topics of praise, his deeds, which you will show to be the results of 1. his excellences of mind as fortitude or prudence, 2. his excellences of body as beauty, speed, vigor, 3. his excellences of fortune as his high position, his power, wealth, friends. Then bring in a comparison in which your praise may be heightened to the uttermost. Finally conclude with an epilog urging your hearers to emulate.¹³³

The extent to which encomium was encouraged to go in exaggeration is suggested by Milton's own comments, in his *Second Defense*, on his elogium of the Queen of Sweden, whose approval of his *First Defense* had delighted him:

And if I had happened to have written what I have, when a young man [*adolescenti*], and the same liberty were allowed to orators as to poets, I should in truth not have hesitated to prefer my fortune to that of some among the gods; forasmuch as they, being gods, contended only for beauty, or in music, before a human arbiter; and I, being a man, with a goddess for my arbitress, have come off victorious in the noblest far of all contests.¹³⁴

As a model theme in encomium Aphthonius offers one in praise of Thucydides. Lorch adds model themes in praise of wisdom, Demosthenes, Philip of Macedon, eloquence, the University of Marburg, and city life.

¹³³ Aphthonius (1645), pp. 191-192.

¹³⁴ Columbia *Milton*, VIII, 193.

9. Vituperation

Although he makes a separate exercise of dispraise, Aphthonius follows Hermogenes in pointing out that it is based on the same places of invention as praise and that the same things can be dispraised as praised. His own model theme is a vituperation of Philip of Macedon. Lorch adds model themes vituperating Paris, Hannibal, and, important for the student of Milton's school days, Phalaris.

Milton mentions, in a passage which I have already quoted,¹³⁵ in his discussion of the benefits to be derived from the practice of theme writing in school, declamatory vituperation of this Phalaris, the Agrigentine tyrant who roasted his victims in a brazen bull. Phalaris is the subject of two declamations by Lucian, which Milton may have read in school, but it is much more probable that he learned to declaim against Phalaris while he was writing themes based on the formularies and models of Aphthonius.

Another tyrant whom Milton mentions in the same passage as an object of vituperation is Mezentius, who was expelled by his subjects on account of his cruelty. Milton may well have met him in the *Æneid* or in Livy, but his interest in Mezentius as a tyrant to dispraise would have been heightened by a reference to him in Aphthonius, under the second sort of *chreia*, amongst the additional examples "ex Stephano Nigro."¹³⁶

That Milton had been exercised in declamation on the theme of the tyrant Mezentius receives further support from other references to him. In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643), describing the misery of mismatched man and wife, he says: "Instead of being one flesh, they will be rather two carcases chain'd unnaturally together; or as it may happ'n, a living soule bound to a dead corps, a punishment too like that inflicted by the tyrant *Mezentius*."¹³⁷

¹³⁵ See pp. 209-210.

¹³⁶ Aphthonius (1645), p. 77.

¹³⁷ Columbia *Milton*, III, 478. "Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis," *Æneid*, VIII, 485.

Milton again refers to the tyrant Mezentius in the *First Defense*.¹³⁸

In his mature writings praising and blaming were not unusual themes with Milton, as has been frequently noticed. That he carried vituperation to extremes even more than he did encomium undoubtedly received strong support from the grammar school exercises taught according to the formularies of Aphthonius. In *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* he handles the topics of encomium and vituperation more playfully. In the former he assigns a defamatory ancestry to Melancholy; in the latter, an encomiastic one. Both poems owe a great deal to a rhetorical training which taught Milton to argue on both sides of a theme.

10. Comparison

Comparison as a rhetorical exercise taught little new. The boys had already been taught to introduce a brief comparison as one of the places of argument in earlier and simpler themes. But Comparison was valuable in summing up earlier exercises and preparing for more advanced ones. As Aphthonius defines it, "Comparison is an oration in which one likens one thing with another, showing one of the things to be either equal or superior to the other."¹³⁹ It uses, as he points out, the same places of argument as the commonplace, the encomium and the vituperation. Aphthonius gives as his model theme a comparison of Achilles and Hector. Lorch adds only one model theme of his own, a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. He cites, however, a number of Plutarch's parallel lives as examples. Clearly the schoolboys were to compare historical, legendary, or fictitious characters whom they had met in their reading of school authors.

11. Impersonation

This rather difficult exercise might be called today the composition of dramatic monologs. In antiquity it was most frequently called *prosopopoeia*. Aphthonius defines it as

¹³⁸ Columbia *Milton*, VII, 325.

¹³⁹ Aphthonius (1645), p. 292.

"The imitation and expression of the character of a person assigned." ¹⁴⁰ Lorich quotes Quintilian and Priscian's Hermogenes as in substantial agreement with Aphthonius. The exercise required the boys to compose lines for a person, real or imaginary, to speak under given circumstances. Aphthonius gives three subdivisions to this exercise: *Ethopoeia*, when the writer composes lines for a known person to speak, as what Hercules might say to Eurysthenes; *Eidolopoeia*, when lines are composed as for the dead to speak; *Prosopopoeia*, when both persons and lines are feigned, as in a dramatic poem or play.

Aphthonius gives as his model theme the lines Niobe might speak over the bodies of her slain children. In his scholia Lorich quite properly leans heavily on the poets. His own model themes include a speech for Hercules to Eurysthenes, for Dives reduced to want, for Hecuba after the fall of Troy, for Andromache after Hector's death, for Medea after she has slain her children, this last in the translation of Erasmus from the Greek of Libanius, the fourth century sophist. Lorich concludes by pointing out examples in Plutarch: What Cornelia said when she heard that Pompey was defeated by Caesar; What Cleopatra said when she learned that Antony was dead. Difficult as the exercise is, it could be a benefit to schoolboys in bringing alive to their imaginations dramatic scenes from classical literature. Moreover, the exercise emphasizes decorum or propriety to the person speaking, the person spoken to, and to the emotional coloring of the attendant circumstances. The value of such an exercise to a future poet was quite clear to Quintilian, who wrote, "*Prosopopoeiae* appear to me the most difficult of all [exercises] . . . But the exercise is extremely beneficial, both because it requires double effort, and because it improves the powers of those who would be poets or historians." ¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Aphthonius (1645), p. 306.

¹⁴¹ Quint. III, viii, 49.

That Milton was familiar with the exercise and with the lessons to be learned from it is clear from his references to the indecorum of Bishop Hall's letter addressed to the Church, "a Letter to a prosopopoea a certain rhetoriz'd woman whom he calls mother,"¹⁴² and from his explanation of the theory of dramatic decorum in *The First Defense*. Here he points out that Salmasius misrepresented the sentiments of Aeschylus by quoting him out of context:

We must not regard the poet's words as his own, but consider who it is that speaks in the play, and what that person says; for different persons are introduced, sometimes good, sometimes bad, some times wise men, sometimes fools, and they speak not always the poet's own opinion, but what is most fitting to each character [*sed quid cuique personae maximè conveniat*].¹⁴³

The oratorical nature of this exercise as taught in the grammar schools also accounts, I believe, in some measure for the superiority of the speeches Milton composed for characters to deliver in *Comus*, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained* and *Sampson*, to his efforts at dramatic dialog.

12. Description

"Description is an oration expository or narrative which aims to place the subject as it were before the eye."¹⁴⁴ In his scholia¹⁴⁵ Lorich quotes definitions from Priscian's Hermogenes and from Quintilian,¹⁴⁶ both of whom use the image of "bringing before one's eyes what is to be shown." The Greek term is *ecphrasis*, which is probably more commonly used today than "description" to name the rather formal set piece the exercise aimed at, exemplified for modern readers by Pater's *Mona Lisa* and Ruskin's *St. Marks*.

As Aphthonius points out an *ecphrasis* can describe persons, things, dumb animals, and plants. It may be simple, as a description of a battle or a time of day; or complex, as Thucydides' description of a battle which took place at night.

¹⁴² *An Apology*, *Columbia Milton*, III, 291.

¹⁴³ *Columbia Milton*, VII, 307.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

¹⁴⁴ Aphthonius (1645), pp. 333.

¹⁴⁶ VIII, iii, 61-71, and IX, ii, 40.

The treatment should involve the use of many descriptive figures, both schemes and tropes, in presenting a vivid imitation of the subject.

For his model theme Aphthonius describes in detail the acropolis of Alexandria, comparing it and contrasting it with the acropolis of Athens, and going into great detail over the halls, porticos, temples, and the library. Lorch picks out for mention such famous expressions from the poets as the storm in the first book of the *Aeneid*, the house of fame in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (which Milton imitated in *In quintum Novembris*), and Cleopatra's barge from Plutarch's *Life of Antony* (which Shakespeare imitated). Then Lorch offers as model themes a description of the habitation of St. Antony from Jerome's life of Hilary,¹⁴⁷ and a long description of his own grammar school at Hadamar [*Descriptio gymnastica domûs Reinhardi Lorchii Hadamarii*].¹⁴⁸ Would Milton had left us an ecphrasis on St. Paul's School!

Quintilian had warned against the theatricality resulting from overdoing ecphrasis,¹⁴⁹ Horace had warned against the purple patch,¹⁵⁰ and Lucian had urged restraint and done a burlesque ecphrasis¹⁵¹ which Milton refers to appreciatively,¹⁵² but Aphthonius gives no warning. In their ecphrases the boys, it seems, might go as far as they liked.

13. Thesis

The thesis was the first exercise that gave the boys an opportunity to speak and write on a theme that had two sides. The previous themes held them to the full dilation of what was accepted as true. Priscian's Hermogenes, as quoted in Lorch's scholia, makes this distinction explicit: "This is the difference between a thesis and a commonplace. The commonplace is an amplification [*exaggeratio*] of a subject mat-

¹⁴⁷ Aphthonius (1645), p. 345.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 346-357.

¹⁴⁹ Quint. IX, ii, 43.

¹⁵⁰ *Ad Pisonem*, 14-19.

¹⁵¹ *The Way to Write History*, 26, 57.

¹⁵² *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence* (1641), Columbia Milton, III, 141.

ter admitted; the thesis is a debate on a matter still in doubt." ¹⁵³

"A thesis, or consultation," says Aphthonius, "is an investigation or examination of a question in an oration. It may be political or speculative. Political as 'Should one take a wife? Go on a journey? Build walls?' Speculative as 'Are the heavens spherical? Are there many worlds?' " He further points out an important difference between a thesis, which discusses a general question [*quaestio infinita*], and a hypothesis, which discusses a particular question [*quaestio finita* or *causa*]. "Should one fortify a city?" is a thesis; "Should the Lacedaemonians fortify Sparta against the Persian invasion?" is a hypothesis. Cicero, in his *Orator*, points out the difference between them in the following passage, part of which Lorch quotes in his scholia to Aphthonius:

Wherever he can the orator will divert the controversy from particular persons and circumstances to universal abstract questions, for he can debate a genus on wider grounds than a species. Whatever is proved of the whole is of necessity proved of the part. A question thus transferred from specific persons and circumstances to a discussion of universal genus is called a thesis. Aristotle used to have young men argue a thesis as an exercise. ¹⁵⁴

Milton shows his awareness of the differences between thesis and hypothesis and the persuasive value of thesis when he says: "*A thesi ad hypothesin*, or from the general to the particular, an evincing argument in Logick." ¹⁵⁵

Since the thesis is the first exercise of the *Progymnasmata* which deals with debatable questions, Aphthonius points out that the *dispositio* of a thesis should be the same as that of an oration. The thesis begins with an exordium, to which one may add a *narratio*, proceeds to confirmatory argument and rebuttal, and concludes with an epilog. "The argu-

¹⁵³ Aphthonius (1645), p. 365.

¹⁵⁴ *Orator*, xiv, 45-46.

¹⁵⁵ *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence* (1641), Columbia Milton, III, 115.

ments," he says, "are drawn from the final headings of justice, legality, expediency, and possibility."¹⁵⁶

Aphthonius offers a model theme supporting the thesis that a man should take a wife. Lorch adds a model theme urging a man not to take a wife. So we can be very sure that Milton had been introduced in boyhood to the theme of his divorce tracts and had, perhaps, debated the thesis, for or against, as an exercise at St. Paul's School. Lorch's other model themes illustrating the thesis argue that old age is not troublesome to bear and that wealth is not the greatest good.

The thesis has had a long life as a school exercise. In Milton's day, at least, it was much practiced at Cambridge as well as in the grammar schools. All seven of the *Pro-lusiones* which Milton wrote as a student at Cambridge and published in the edition of 1674 along with his Latin epistles are theses. Each was written to support one side of what Aphthonius called a political or speculative question. The themes of the seven theses are as follows: 1) That day is more excellent than night; 2) Pythagoras' theory of the harmony of the spheres is true at least poetically; 3) That scholastic philosophy is neither pleasant nor profitable; 4) (The only one entitled *Thesis*) In the destruction of any thing a resolution to primary matter does not occur; 5) Partial forms do not occur in an animal in addition to the whole; 6) (Entitled *Oratio*) That sometimes sportive exercises are not prejudicial to philosophical studies; 7) (Entitled *Oratio*) That knowledge renders man happier than ignorance.¹⁵⁷ Of these the fourth and fifth are characteristic examples of the scholastic disputation, so important in the Cambridge of Milton's day, which the third prolusion is at pains to attack. The first and seventh are the most characteristic examples of the thesis as it was taught by Aphthonius.

The thesis is also susceptible of poetic treatment. Thus

¹⁵⁶ Aphthonius (1645), p. 359.

¹⁵⁷ Columbia *Milton*, XII, 118-285.

the first seventeen of Shakespeare's sonnets are theses on the theme, Should a man marry? Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are companion theses arguing whether the active or contemplative life is more desirable or, as Tillyard suggests, whether the pleasures of night are superior to those of day.¹⁵⁸

14. Legislation

The exercise in finding arguments for and against a law gave the boys their first taste of deliberative oratory on the mature level of public legislation. To be sure they were not encouraged to propose new laws or in other ways overturn the existing establishment of the government, but to debate the pros and cons of ancient laws or even of fictitious laws. Thus Aphthonius gives as his model theme an attack on the ancient law which permitted the injured husband to kill the adulterers if he took them together in the act of adultery. To attack the cruelty and savagery of the law without seeming to palliate adultery involved careful footwork for the school-boys who debated the theme from the fourth century to the eighteenth.

The arguments against a law, according to Aphthonius, are drawn from the final headings of justice, legality, expediency, and possibility, a procedure Milton is careful to follow in *Areopagitica*, where he points out that the licensing act is *impossible*, of enforcement, *unjust* and *dishonorable*, and finally that the act is *inexpedient* in hampering the discovery and dissemination of truth.¹⁵⁹

Lorich offers three additional model themes. The first is a speech in support of the law proposed by C. Oppius, tribune of the people, against women's extravagance in dress.¹⁶⁰ The second is a speech in favor of a law which would require chil-

¹⁵⁸ E. M. W. Tillyard, "Milton: *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*" (The English Association Pamphlet No. 82, July, 1932). Tillyard relates the poems to the first prolusion and dates them early.

¹⁵⁹ Columbia *Milton*, IV, 293-354. Milton sums up his final headings in his *partitio* on p. 297.

¹⁶⁰ For the *Lex Oppia* see Livy, XXIV, 38; and Tacitus, *Annales*, III, 33-34. Lorich attributes the law to M. Oppius.

dren to support their parents under penalty of imprisonment.¹⁶¹ Lorich's third model theme, quoted from Petrus Mosellanus, supports a law, ascribed to the Swiss, which stipulates that guests should not be urged to drink. It is clear that Lorich's models, at least, would encourage the boys in modesty of dress, filial devotion, and sobriety.

In his precepts for the *dispositio* of a speech on legislation, exemplified by his models, Aphthonius encourages a mechanical arrangement, involving the statement of one objection at a time followed by an immediate confutation, then another objection followed by its confutation. This mechanical arrangement Milton follows in his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defense*, and to a smaller degree in other tracts. To some degree, at least, Milton as well as his contemporaries was influenced by the instruction in theme writing he received under the guidance of the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius.

¹⁶¹ Quint. VII, vi, 5; Seneca, *Contro.*, I, 1. The law existed only in Roman declamation schools, not in the realm of actual legislation.

9. *Retrospect*

NOW that we have examined the grammar school education which Milton received in his boyhood, we are in a favorable position to understand Milton's ideal school as he describes it in the *Tractate of Education*. We can now see that this school as he dreamed it was in many respects like St. Paul's School if notably unlike Cambridge. Its goals were the traditional goals of the humanistic grammar school. Erasmus and Colet would have approved Milton when he writes: "Then will be requir'd a special reinforcement of constant and sound endocrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of Virtue and the hatred of Vice." ¹ They would have likewise approved of his views of religion as well as morality in education as he states them: "The end then of Learning is to repair the ruines of our first Parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him." ² He is in the humanistic tradition also when he writes of the importance of linguistic studies in the early part of his curriculum that "Language is but an Instrument conveying to us things usefull to be known." ³ Of the languages of those people who have been industrious after wisdom he recommended for his school the same that he had learned at St. Paul's—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. For the study of grammar he recommended Lily, for his boys were to begin with, "The chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better." ⁴ He assumes that the boys will learn prosody as part of their early study of grammar just as he himself had done as a boy. Indeed he approved of the traditional grammar school so emphatically that he would extend and enrich it and abolish

¹ *Columbia Milton*, IV, 284.

² *Ibid.*, 277.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 281.

the universities altogether save for professional training in law and medicine. In *Means to Remove Hirelings* he stated that the clergy needed no training but, "By the scripture and in the original languages therof at schoole:"⁵

Milton's ideal school differed, however, from St. Paul's School in that it concentrated on wide reading of ancient authors before the boys were to practice exercises in the composition of themes in Latin verse and prose. Moreover in addition to the poets, historians, and orators usually read in school, the boys were to read widely, largely for information, in ancient authors on agriculture, arithmetic, geometry, geography, trigonometry, fortifications, architecture, enginry, navigation, natural philosophy and the like.⁶ Edward Phillips testifies that Milton put something very like this plan into practice when after his trip to Italy he set up his own school.⁷

Although Milton was sharp in his ridicule of the "preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of Children to compose Theams, Verses and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment and the final work of a head fill'd by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention,"⁸ he approved of theme writing and training in rhetoric once his pupils were older and their heads were well filled. Indeed he makes rhetoric the culmination of his whole educational scheme. What he does oppose is premature training in the arts of communication before the boys have matter to communicate. Since his pupils were to remain in his school until they were 21, we may suppose that between the ages of 18 or 19 and 21 that the boys were to study the arts of logic, rhetoric, and poetry. The theory and the examples of excellent performance were to precede practice as the following famous passages indicate:

And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which inable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 96.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 283.

⁷ Darbyshire, *Early Lives of Milton*, p. 12.

⁸ *Columbia Milton*, IV, 278.

according to the fitted stile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is useful, is to be referr'd to this due place with all her well coucht Heads and Topics, untill it is time to open her contracted palm into a gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of *Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus*. . . . From hence and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able Writers and Composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be fraught with an universal insight into things.⁹

He continues, after further discussion of details:

The course of Study hitherto briefly describ'd, is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous Schools of *Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle* and such others, out of which were bred up such a number of renowned Philosophers, Orators, Historians, Poets and Princes.¹⁰

As near as I can guess by reading, Milton's school would be more like that of Isocrates than like the others, for only Isocrates oriented his school toward preparing his pupils "to speak in Parliament or Counsel," by making all liberal knowledge function through rhetoric, or more accurately, through that "philosophy of the logos" which included all the arts of communication in language: grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Based as it was on similar assumptions Milton's own school of St. Paul's was well calculated to breed up her favored son as the renowned Orator, Historian, and Poet that he became.

⁹ Columbia *Milton*, IV, 286. *Plato, Rep.*, VII, 537, restricts instruction in dialectic to a selected group of young men who have reached the age of 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 287.

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